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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH

By the same Author

1. Structure and Working of Village Panchayats
2. Local Government and Local Finance in India*
3. Administration of Justice by Village Panchayats in India*
4. Section on Economic History in Andhra Encyclopaedia in Telugu etc.

[* Papers printed in Problems of Public Administration in India]

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH

[1766-1957]

BY
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M.A., Ph.D.

FOREWORD BY

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Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics, Poona



POPULAR BOOK DEPOT, BOMBAY

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Published April 1958

Printed by V. P. Bhagwat at Mouj Printing Bureau, Khatau Wadi, Bombay 4
and Published by G. R. Bhatkal for Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road,
Bombay 7.

FOREWORD

Dr. Raman Rao has, in this publication, attempted a history of the economic development of Andhra Pradesh over a period of nearly two hundred years. I hold that for arriving at a full understanding of trends of economic development in India, it is extremely necessary to pay detailed attention to developments in specific regions. The peculiar characteristics of the various regions, geographical, social and economic have powerfully affected economic history in them. A regional study of the growth of population, for example, shows widely varying patterns of growth and stagnation in India. An overall statement relating to developments in India or the averaging of statistical indicators is, therefore, likely to conceal a great deal that is of significance in the situation.

To my knowledge, Dr. Raman Rao's effort represents the first attempt at producing a connected account, over a long period, of economic developments in a specific region in India. The first two parts of the publication represent an abridged version of a thesis which Dr. Raman Rao completed many years ago under my guidance. One of the chief merits of the thesis was that by drawing very extensively upon official manuscript records in Madras and other places it made available a considerable body of fresh information relating to the early British period in Andhra Pradesh. In incorporating the thesis material in this publication Dr. Raman Rao found it necessary to compress it and this has led to the omission of a great many quotations, etc., from the manuscript records that were included in the thesis. Even so, as the references at the end of chapters in the first two parts show, a good deal of new information drawn from the manuscript records has been incorporated in the publication.

In the third part dealing with the period after 1865, which forms the bulk of the publication, Dr. Raman Rao has placed reliance, chiefly on published material available in books and reports. Even here, he seems to have used fairly fully Government reports and other publications that are not readily available to students. It might be noted that

even the Andhra Pradesh does not represent a homogeneous geographical region. The political and legislative history of the various parts within the region has till recently followed differing courses and economic fortunes and developments have also varied. It has not been possible for Dr. Raman Rao to give a full account of the special characteristics and developments of the various sub-regions or to present a full, cogent and connected account of the dominant trends over the whole region consistently over any large part of the period under consideration. However, he has been able to bring together a large body of information and a large variety of data relating to almost all aspects of economic life and activity of a large and important region for a period of two hundred years. And this in itself is an unusual achievement in India.

Gokhale Institute of Politics
& Economics
Poona 4,
February 13, 1958

D. R. GADGIL

P R E F A C E

The core of this work dealing with the Economic Development of Andhra during the early British period (1766-1865) was written about twelve years ago for the requirements of a doctoral dissertation. It has since then been revised, rewritten and brought up to date.

Perhaps, this large instalment on the Economic development of Andhra needs an explanation. It is this. Barring a few works like those of Professor D. R. Gadgil and Dr. Vera Anstey on the Industrial Evolution of India in recent times, Indian Economic History is a sadly neglected subject. Again while most of the best of modern Economic History is done in a monograph form, it has not been tried in India so far on a regional basis to any great extent. The dominant social and economic events of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are legends or semi-legends weaved into literary tradition for popular appeal at a time of political agitation to win independence from a colonial power which was controlling the destinies of the country for a few centuries. To get to know the real facts, there was no go, but to go to the Blue books, which contain all exact information in the manuscript records of the period, not only about the political and economic conditions prevailing then, but also about the life and living in the ancient village communities, the world-famous Andhra handloom fabrics and carpets, the coloured chintzes of Masulipatam and the blue cloth of Gollapudy and Neelapally, the wages, prices, social and cultural habits of the people, agriculture, revenue, transport, currency, commerce, communications, taxation, population, growth of towns, the growth and decline of industries, the rise and fall of the rich internal and external land and overseas trade, the economic and financial policies of the state, irrigation etc. All these facts hidden in the old manuscript records, preserved in the Madras record office, have been unearthed and presented, bringing these authentic facts for the first time, to light.

For the first century of the contact of the British East India Company with the Andhra districts, i.e., 1766-1865, I have depended entirely on the manuscript records in the Madras record office which is a rich treasure-house of information for any researcher on early British rule in India. It is of course a very laborious task to wade through the several types of manuscript

records to search for the facts covering the period but there is no short cut to exhaustive scrutiny of these centuries-old records so far. The footnotes in each chapter show every instance of my heavy reliance on them without any reserve.

To the general economic literature, the reports of the several commissions and committees, the district gazetteers and the manuals, the reports of the East India Company on Indian affairs, the reports of the Board of Revenue and its proceedings, the Government orders on various matters, I owe a good deal.

The scope of the book as its name implies is Andhra Pradesh. I have tried to do justice to Northern Circars and Ceded Districts which form the two distinct component parts covering the eleven undisputed Andhra districts of the former Madras State which were subsequently formed into Andhra State in 1953. I have made no attempt to treat Telangana, which formed a part of the newly-formed Andhra Pradesh, other than incidentally.

I have had help and advice from several quarters. First and foremost, the very undertaking of this research was made possible due to the very kind encouragement of Professor D. R. Gadgil, under whose inspiring and able guidance I carried on the work. It is impossible for me to express what I owe to him for his kind interest and fine example as a great teacher, for the time he spared for me in the midst of several preoccupations to look into my work at every stage and to discuss with me the various chapters by offering his invaluable criticisms and suggestions by which I have profited considerably. I hope I have got the things right. If I have not, it is my fault.

The work had to be done under very difficult circumstances due to the prevalence of the second world war at that time, when it was not easy to enter into any government office and more so to get any information due to the all-round restrictions by way of security precautions. My entry into important offices in Fort St. George in Madras and my efforts to get information would have been almost impossible and fruitless, but for the great interest taken in me by the late Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, then at Madras (and later the Chairman, Forward Markets Commission, Government of India, Bombay) who used to take me sometimes personally to Fort St. George and introduce me to some of the important officials to give me the necessary

help in my work. He was a great and gentle soul who passed away prematurely, but full of honour. Another personage of importance also then at Madras is Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh who rendered me some helpful assistance.

I did the general readings in the libraries of the Servants of India Society at Poona and Madras, the University libraries of Bombay and Madras, the Connemera Public Library, Madras, the Madras Record Office and the library of Fort St. George. But for the courteous assistance of the librarians at these places, I would not have been able to finish my work in these places at such a short time.

Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Curator, Madras Record Office and his staff at Madras, Chittoor and Palmaner had rendered me very great assistance in removing and keeping at my disposal every day a large number of volumes for my perusal without much waste of time. The shifting from Madras, during the war time, of all important manuscript records for security purposes had made it inevitable for me to go and stay at different places where there were hardly any tolerable facilities for stay or food. But for the co-operation of the staff of the Madras Record Office at Madras and other places the tremendous task of going through the vast number of manuscript records would have been a most despairing one.

By the middle of 1945 when I started taking stock of the intensive work I had done over a period of three years, I found myself inundated with overwhelming material which was found to be too much for the purposes of a thesis. Accordingly and in consultation with Prof. Gadgil, I had decided to confine myself for the purpose on hand to the early British period and used all the material for the purpose of a complete narrative, thereafter. The writing of the thesis with recurrent changes from time to time in the light of my discussions with my guide saw me through the end of 1945. Thereafter my brother-in-law Prof. P. Padmaraju had helped me to get it typed out for submission from rather a very difficult manuscript as I was immediately thereafter engaged with an investigation work on a post-doctoral fellowship at the Gokhale Institute. My mother took the trouble of accompanying me to all the places I visited to make my stay easier and to help me.

The publication of this work which was done under such trying circumstances could not be taken up so far, in spite of my incessant desire to do so, due to the lack of any assistance coming forth for such a costly venture till recently. Thanks to the good offices of Shri S. K. Patil, formerly President of Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and a Member of the Union Cabinet with Dr. B. Gopala Reddy, the former Chief Minister of Andhra State and a continuing member of the Andhra Pradesh Cabinet even today, the Andhra Government had given me very kindly a moderate publication grant as a token of their appreciation of the work I have done regarding the Andhra districts. This, ultimately, had entailed upon me the responsibility of undertaking the publication anyhow.

Before sending the manuscript to the press, I had once again gone through it retouching it here and there. Mr. Maurice Zinkin, formerly of the Indian Civil Service and now a prominent publicist, had been good enough to go through the manuscript and made many useful suggestions. Shri S. Seshadri, M.A., helped me with the editing work. Shri V. P. Bhagwat of the Mouj Printing Bureau, Bombay facilitated the printing and the Popular Book Depot the publishing. Shri P. N. Rao, M.Sc., has been of great help from the time the publication was thought of. Besides Shri Damle of the Mouj Printing Bureau with his long experience 'K' and 'S' too did the laborious work of going through the proofs along with me in addition to rewriting and checking the references whenever necessary. I owe special thanks to them because a writer like me, who has gone into such tiresome detail, has no right to plague his friends with his proofsheets but should take his own risk of blundering. Prof. Gadgil has again come to my rescue by kindly agreeing to contribute the Foreword at my request. I am grateful to all who assisted me thus in the several stages of my work.

26th January, 1958
Bombay

A. V. RAMAN RAO

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ERRATA

Page 218 line 3 : *for* (1800-1900) *read* (1880-1900).

Page 259 lines 2 and 3 from bottom: read these lines as interchanged.

Page 332 line 14 : *for* Dr. *read* D.

Page 333 line 30 : *for* during *read* daring.

PART I : 1766–1802

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ANDHRA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

In the beginning of the 17th century, European and Eastern commerce centered round the Malaya Archipelago, which was a trade emporium of international importance. The European merchants learned from experience that, while there was little or no demand for their own goods, there was a vast demand for the calicoes, plains, chintzes and palempores of Coromandal in India. The trader who brought these piecegoods was more welcome even than had he offered ready money.¹

With its glorious past, the Coromandal Coast had a great fascination for traders from the west. Foreign travellers like Nilcoloconti and historians like Abdur Razak, who had visited and known these parts, said they were strewn all over with roses and honey. Pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds used to be sold openly in the bazars.² Col. Wilks said, "Each stream in this part of the country had its own song to sing and every hill its story to narrate".³ Peace and good government gave economic security and low prices helped to provide for the generality of the people ample food, good housing and a fairly high standard of dress. The general economic condition was so good that even the common people had a few luxuries.⁴

One by one the Europeans started colonising the East coast. The Portuguese first came and settled in Masulipatam in 1606. The Dutch came two years later. In 1609, the directorate of the East India Company in London received an offer from a Dutch adventurer to trade in these parts and a commercial treaty was actually negotiated in 1611 with the Nawab of Golkonda for certain trade privileges.⁵

A pilot voyage of a Dutch adventurer, Florence Deboyne, from London to Masulipatam revealed a profit of 218 per cent., which strengthened the desire of the East India Company to increase its trade with the coast of Coromandal. Since then Masulipatam became the first link in the chain of events that ultimately led to the establishment of British supremacy over the whole of India.⁶

After the fall of the Vizianagar empire, a series of political revolutions seriously disturbed the economic conditions and brought about utter chaos. There was no single strong power that held sway for long. The House of Bedar and the Bhamini dynasties that ruled upto 1471 were displaced by the Kutubshahis who ruled from Golkonda since 1511. Later, a new power arose from Orissa under Vishnu Gajapati Deva who destroyed the powerful Reddy chiefs. In 1687, the Northern Circars along with other possessions of Abriel Hussain, the last of the Kutubshahis, fell into the hands of Aurangzeb, the last of the great Moghul emperors. Being busy in curbing the Marathas, he had no time to devote to the Deccan. This led to the suspension of all regular government throughout Hindustan.⁷ There was no order and no law. The troublesome Hindu chiefs and the Moghul agents in the south started assuming independence refusing to recognise any central control. The revolutions in the country increased and the forces of the Nawabs and the Rajahs skirmishing around, plundered and burnt the whole country.⁸ The Dutch merchants used to be frequently robbed and confined in the forts.⁹ The English merchants had to pay customs on all their goods in transit or give an assurance of payment on demand to the Moghul Dewan who ignored their plea for exemptions in view of the privileges they obtained by their commercial treaty with the native rulers. The certificates of immunity they carried were valued nowhere by the Nawabs' agents who refused to be bribed.¹⁰ Even the native Rajahs whom the Company befriended were enlarging their taxes for the maintenance of their camp and this impeded all trade and commerce. It was impossible for the English merchants to approach them for any consideration as they were too busy with the revolutions in the country to think of anything else.¹¹ In these political disturbances many of the Rajahs and Sardars refused obedience and obstructed all trade, travel and correspondence.¹² With the death of Aurangazeb in 1707 and with the disintegration of the Moghul empire, the whole structure collapsed. In the welter of confusion and anarchy that followed, the artisan and the village weaver received a terrible check and badly needed some investment money and patronage which were provided by the East India Company and the other European commercial agents.¹³

The Dutch, the Portuguese and the French merchants used to provide weavers with liberal advances on easy terms and ac-

cepted the woven cloth without strict enforcement of their assortments even if the cloth prepared was not upto the specified standards. They paid the weavers much better wages and treated them well in comparison to the English. The English merchants who were expecting preferential treatment from the native rulers, were very niggardly in the payment of wages to the weavers. They paid them the lowest wages. The weavers resented this high-handed treatment and refused to weave for them any cloth. The English agents tried to prevail upon them by inviting the intervention of the Subedar of the Deccan.

The Moghul ambassador who came to know of these methods ordered them to desist from these. They were also ordered not to see any public minister without his permission and threatened to send the guilty home in iron cuffs.¹⁴ The Company protested that this policy would ruin their trade and persisted in their attempts to entreat the ruling power of the country in their favour, only to be told that this country was free for all people, provided they paid the kings the customs.¹⁵ This cold treatment brought the agitation of the Company for special treatment to an end. The Dutch, the French and the Portuguese merchants who did not ask for special privileges had no trouble at all. The French had considerable stock to invest and they were given all encouragement as that meant an income of 10,000 pagodas annually to the Dewan of the Moghul Emperor.¹⁶ The Dutch had at Masulipatam a colony of 5,000 artisans from Golkonda who were paid 5,000 Madras Pagodas and cheap provisions.¹⁷ At Ingeram, the English colony consisted of 700 weavers while the Dutch factory had 2,000 weavers.¹⁸ The painters, weavers, dyers and washermen preferred the water at Ingeram which had the advantage of nearness to Mountapally and Pittapolu where the best chayroot for colouring was available.¹⁹ Besides this factory at Ingeram, the English had other factories at Madapollam, Bandamoorlanka Narasaraopeta, Tuni, Coonada, Coringa, Gollapalem and Vizag. In all these places, the Dutch and the Portuguese factories offered a tough resistance to the English merchants who were out to bid for the best cloth at the lowest prices. The serious insistence of this policy by the Court of Directors made most of the commercial residents prefer open dismissal to being asked to send more cloth as the weavers refused to give them even a viss.²⁰ The agent at Vizag once contented himself by exporting 800 elephant tusks and 72 bags of pepper instead of the fine

long cloth demanded.²¹ The insurrections, troubles on the roads and dacoits forced the peons going towards Ganjam to return.²² The available cloth at Berhampore, Bhimlipatam, Vizag and Tuni was offered only to the Dutch who were prepared to pay the price demanded by the weavers.²³ Faced with such tough competition in trade and humiliated by the rebuffs of the native chiefs, the English Company was on the look out for new avenues to gain monopoly over this profitable export trade.

In the midst of these convulsions arose a dispute for the Subhaship of the Deccan. Nizamulmulk maintained himself against the orders of the Moghul Emperor and incited all the zamindars to disregard the central authority. The battle of Sherkhand in 1724, found Rustom Alikhan in power at Rajahmundry. With the death of Nizam-Ul-Mulk in 1749, a second contest arose for the Subhaship of the Deccan among the brothers of the Royal Household, which ultimately led them to the battle field. The English and the French, the two powerful commercial companies wanted to try their fortunes by taking the cause of one against the other. It was a long and protracted strife. In 1757, the finest flower of Telugu chivalry perished behind the walls of Bobbili, fighting against the hordes of Bussy, the veteran French commander.²⁴ Col. Ford won the battle of Kondur in 1758 with the armies of Vijayarama Raju of Vizianagaram against the French and the Nizam.²⁵ With this, the English power in the Circars might be said to have been placed on secure foundations.²⁷

With the conquest of the fort of Masulipatam in April 1759, the English gained from the French, the complete control over all the maritime provinces on either side of the river Gondegama to the Chilka lake. The officers who conquered, left them to Salabatzung who could not make use of this gift and maintain peace and order in these territories.²⁸

In the following seven years, the greatest anarchy ever recorded in the annals of Hindustan, prevailed over the whole of Circars. Every form of civil authority seemed to have been lost. Lords became vassals and the renters, proprietors, amildars changed conditions with the inferior officers by accepting russoms or yearly acknowledgements to lessen the recorded value and the standing revenue of the land.²⁹ The story of the interminable feuds of the legal heirs of the princes at the native courts, fomented by the intrigues of the French and the English and of the bitter rivalries and wars of these two commercial

companies which continued for over half a century belongs to the history of neither commerce nor civilisation. It is the story of one of those lapses into barbarism, which too often interrupted fruitful relations between the East and the west.³⁰ There were invading hordes throughout the Northern Circars causing destruction of life and property. Venkatarama Ranga, zamindar of Mogeltore, sent 2,000 men to devastate Rajahmundry and Chicacole, while large-scale gangsterism, looting and shooting was being indulged in on the other side. Ordinary civil life became impossible in the midst of these convulsions. The hill zamindars and the Poligars, like the barons of France and England of the 13th and 14th centuries, lived in lofty towers and castles, and ignored and insulted the central royal authority.³¹ The highest powers found it impossible to reduce them, and afraid of driving them to acts of pillage and devastation, were content to live with them in the best manner possible. These zamindars were of three types, (i) the Velamas of Telaga origin, driven from the Carnatic in 1652 by the Muslim armies, who had established themselves on the borders of the Kistna; (ii) the Rachawars of the ancient race of Orissa, who were compelled to relinquish the plains of the Circars and return to the highland woods, who formed the western frontier, principally to the north of the Godavary; and (iii) the Woriyas, petty chieftains of the military tribe, who, after the overthrow of the Oriya empire, were able to acquire an independent jurisdiction chiefly in the northern division of Chicacole.

The military force of these zamindars consisted of three varieties; (a) the common peons who were paid in money and were expected to be in constant attendance; (b) the mocassa peons who were paid by the grant of lands subject to quit rent only; and (c) the Manovarty peons who were military tenants of a high order bound to bring their adherents to the field.

All the lands in the Northern Circars were divided in two categories : (i) the zamindary and (ii) the Havelies. Under the Hindu rule, the cultivators' share of the wet crop was one-third of the produce. On dry grain lands watered by artificial irrigation, it was two-thirds except in the case of new ryots and Brahmins who were allowed a higher share. Before reaping the harvest, crop estimates were made by outside crop measurement experts, in the presence of the local inhabitants and village servants. They were also allowed the help of the village records if necessary. The cultivators had the option to ask for

another survey by people of their own choice. In case of a difference between the two estimates, the village officer could order a third survey which finally decided the quantity to be paid by the ryot in cash or kind. On gardens and plantations, the ryots used to pay one-fourth and one-eighth of the yearly produce as rent. During the days of the later Muslim rule, the land assessment rose to one-sixth and sometimes to one-fifth of the produce. Besides, the zamindars used to insist on payment in kind, in spite of stipulation of payment in cash, and fresh cowles were arranged according to their own convenience. The ryots had to borrow money at 40 to 50 per cent. interest per month from the sahukars to make good the anticipated demand by the zamindars, who kept their agents, whom they had to feed till their amounts were paid. It was a frequent practice of the renters to remove the inhabitants from fertile lands to bestow them on their own friends and relatives and ask the ryots to help them gratuitously in tilling lands, with labourers, bullocks, carts and straw. In addition to these exorbitant exactions from the ryots, the renters and zamindars were also collecting land customs on inland trade in the name of Sayer duties, on all articles of commerce, like food grains, cattle, salt and every other necessity of life passing from one part of the country to the other. The customs houses were many and these injudicious *Juncans* (duties) were collected at too frequent an interval, which disturbed all commerce and industry. In addition to these, there were introduced also collections like charitable donations, religious fees, accountants' mamools. The rates and frequency of these collections varied from zamindary to zamindary. Above all, there were the moturpha collections by way of imposts on houses, handlooms, implements of agriculture and levies on merchants and artificers, which terribly oppressed the commonfolk.³²

But, the natural produce of these districts was rich. There were the sheep, goats and the cattle. The neighbouring sea and inland waters were rich in fish of different varieties, like the shole, the mullet, pumple, etc. These districts were growing all kinds of grains and were, therefore, called the granary of the Carnatic. Teak timber forests on the banks of the Godawary helped the great shipbuilding industry in Coringa to survive in the face of odds. The inland commerce and maritime enterprise for the whole of Circars was annually worth Rs. 75 lakhs.

The manufactures of these parts consisted of plain long

cloth, printed calicoes, brilliant chintzes, plain and coarse long cloth of Masulipatam, chay-root, coloured cloth made on the north and south of the Godavary, the muslins of Chicacole, the beautiful woven carpets of Ellore, the silks of Berhampore and Jeypore, the inland ivory works, carvings and cabinet works of Vizag. Their commerce was mainly with Europe, the neighbouring Indian ports and with the inland territories of the Deccan.³³

The trade with Europe was in the fine cloth exported by the European nations who had their factories on the coast or who purchased through their agents, amounting on the whole to Rs. 30 lakhs, of which one half seldom found its way to Europe. A much greater variety could have yielded profits upwards of 100 per cent.

The coastal trade carried on with Madras, was in foodgrains, amounting to half a million bags valued at Rs. 25 lakhs, including freight and other charges and in coarse cloth worth Rs. 10 lakhs.

The third branch of commerce was in copper, salt and piece-goods of native manufacture. Salt was chiefly from Bengal and used to leave a balance of Rs. 10 lakhs after deducting half the balance for meeting imports of wheat and cloth from the lambadies and consumed within the Circars.

These rich natural resources and the commercial prospects made the East India Company long for control over these maritime districts. The magnificent role played by Kandregula Jogipantulu, a native Dubasee, in the process of transfer of power from Hyderabad to the East India Company, was a grand episode in the economic history of the period. He was a well-known personage, highly respected at the Court of Hyderabad, and in the Northern Circars. Rukumuddowla, the Dewan of the Nizam of Hyderabad, held him in high esteem and personally accompanied him whenever he visited Hyderabad. The English Company approached Jogipantulu and prevailed upon him to go to Hyderabad, to secure for them control over the Northern Circars. This was an extremely difficult task, especially at a time when disturbances in the Deccan defied all solution. Nizam Ali, the Subeder of Deccan, was himself greatly preoccupied with this unrest. Despite this inopportune time, John Pybus, the Resident at Masulipatam precipitated the intervention of Jogipantulu, addressing a dispatch to Nizam Ali at Hyderabad, in which he said, "The bearer of this letter, Jogipantulu, a Brahmin from the Government of Madras, is the man to proceed to your Excellency's Court. Your Excellency

recently honoured him with the subject of Northern Circars, which for some time past, have been so much distressed to the detriment of Your Excellency's authority's revenue. You will learn from this vakil the intentions of the Government of Madras and the manner in which he proposes to restore peace, good order and tranquillity to other countries, so that Your Excellency might enjoy considerable advantage, and he will explain to you the nature of his business in person."³⁴ Jogipantulu delivered this diplomatic note to Nizam Ali and, during his stay at Hyderabad, sent several dispatches to Ft. St. George to allay the fears of the Company officials, about the details of the delicate mission on hand.³⁵ But he left the matter to be handled at an opportune moment. He followed Nizam Ali and Rukunuddowla to their camp at Rajahmundry, instructing Ft. St. George to send the English officials to meet him there, so that "we shall be able to get the jagirs in view of the assistance we have given them for settling the country". He assured them that, even if Nizam Ali returned in two or three days, he would give full powers to his Dewan, Rukunuddowla, to settle the matter.³⁶ Meanwhile, Rukunuddowla was faced with a mutiny of his troops, demanding immediate payment, when he was at a distance of 3 coss from Gollapudy. He sent Jogipantulu an elephant, asking him to accompany him to Nizam Ali to discuss about curbing the insurrections. In these delicate talks, during his stay in the camp of Nizam Ali, he stole an opportunity to move the topic and negotiated for the lease of the five districts of the Northern Circars to the Company for a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs, including the Circar of Guntur which was actually under the control of Basalatzung, the brother of the Subah, for which also Salabatzung would give a private sanad and would not have any objection if the Company could take it over on some pretext or other.³⁷ The English had no objection to participate in this underhand dealing and asked Jogipantulu to complete the negotiations. The charter that ultimately made a gift of the Circars to the East India Company was a triumph of Jogipantulu's diplomacy. It read as follows, "The Honourable East India Company received from His Highness letters consisting of sanads for the 5 Circars, Ellore, Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Moortazanagar and Moostafanagar, expressing his free gift of these on them and their heirs forever and ever and do hereby promise and engage to have a body of troops ready to settle the affairs of H. H. Government in every trial that is right and pro-

per whenever required.....In whatever year the assistance of the troops is not required, they will pay to His Highness as a consideration for the free gift of these 5 Circars, the following sum, i.e., for the Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar, Rs. 5 lakhs, and for those of Chicacole and Moortazanagar, Rs. 2 lakhs each, in all Rs. 9 lakhs per annum. His Highness entirely acquits the abovementioned Circars of all the arrears and demands down to the day of their writing.³⁸ Thus in 1766, the entire sovereignty over these territories was given as a gift to the English East India Company.³⁹

The Ceded Districts :—Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah were ceded to the English Company by the Nizam of Hyderabad in the year 1800 by a military treaty. Under the Hindu and Muslim rule, portions of the Balaghat contained parts of Kurnool, Adoni, Cumbum, Harpanahalli, Rayadrug, Bellary, Gooty, Gazipur, Cuddapah, Gurramkonda, Doopad, Punganur and Sidhapur.⁴⁰

Nellore :—Nellore was acquired from the Nawabs of the Carnatic in 1802. It suffered much less in comparison with the rest of the Carnatic in the wars of the 18th century. Being exempt from the presence of armies, it was saved from much of the military devastation and drain.⁴¹

Thus the East India Company which started as a commercial agency, transferred itself by the beginning of the 19th century, into a privileged political power. To understand the significance of this change, one must go deeper. The Company was passing through phenomenal changes in the course of its career in India. Being a chartered Company with the sole monopoly of trade with India, it actually interferred in the court politics of the native ruling dynasties which were torn with succession rivalries, and succeeded in gradually acquiring for itself territorial rights and trading monopolies.⁴²

The British Government was afraid of the East India Company gaining virtual control over the political and economic destinies of these lands, at a time when the new factories in England were producing cloth which was unable to meet the fierce competition of the Indian fabrics. At one stage, they did not want them to carry the Indian coastal fabrics any more to England, as these ravishingly beautiful textiles threatened the very existence of the English industry. But this grand society of merchants, to whom England owed its Indian empire, continued to carry on their trade as usual, inspite of the repeated protests of the Home Government, taking advantage of their

position as the sole money lender to the Government when they were involved in the Hundred Years' War.

The efforts of Edmund Burke and Fox in 1783 to form a committee to control the affairs of the East India Company failed on account of their weak Parliamentary support against the overwhelming influence of the Company.⁴³ This abortive attempt further increased the trade, carried on by the clerks of the East India Company who committed actions that would make the name of an Englishman stink in the nostrils of a Hindu or a Muslim.⁴⁴

The political and economic conditions that brought the East India Company into power would take us back to the times when the happy relations between the East and the West were sadly impaired. The Company took advantage of the conditions and gained despotic power, without accepting the consequent responsibilities. The result was anarchy worse than that which prevailed under the rulers whom the Company displaced.⁴⁵

A chronological table of the early British acquisitions in the coast of Northern Circars is given below⁴⁶ :—

Year	Station	District
1611	Pettapoly and Masulipatam	Kistna
1625	Armegam	Nellore
1634	Veeravasaram	Godavary
1679	Madapolam	Godavary
1683	Vizagapatam	One of the Northern Circars
1722	Ingeram	Godavary
1751	Bandamoorlanka and Neelapilly	Godavary
1768	Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Moortazanagar and Moostafanagar	{ Northern Circars.

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CHAPTER II

LAND AND ITS PEOPLE, HANDICRAFTS, AGRICULTURE, AND REVENUE

(a) *Land and Its People:* The Northern Circars on the coast of Coromandal are 200 miles from Ft. St. George. They are on the narrow strip of maritime country extending from 15° to 20° of North Latitude and from 79.2 to 85.2 East Longitude. To the east is the sea along a coast line of 470 miles from the fort of Mootapally near Guntur on the Southern extremity to the town of Moland in Orissa on the borders of the Chilaka Lake. On the west 50 to 70 miles inland, it is divided from the interior province or subha of Hyderabad by a range of small detached hills, extending to the borders of the Godavary and is similarly separated from Berar by a continuous ridge of mountains. The same unbroken curve of hills extends eastwards to the Chilaka Lake, forming an impregnable barrier of 50 miles on the north, except for a tongue of land between the lake and the sea, interspersed by deep water communications at Manickapatnam. On the south, the river Gondigama separates the territory from the district of Ongole and forms the modern frontier of the Carnatic Payanghat. Thanks to the efforts of the East India House and its agents, the English got the richest maritime border on the East Coast.¹

The arable area of production in the Northern Circars was computed at 17,000 geographic miles, of which one-fifth was under cultivation, twice that area in pastures and the remainder was under woods, water, towns, barren hills or sandy waste of three miles' breadth bordering the whole coast.

The whole territory was divided into five districts ; and a sixth was formed out of the Southern Circars, to manufacture salt and to collect customs duty at the port of Nizampatam, one of the southern outlets of Kistna as well as Masulipatam.

(i) Guntur or Mustafanagar, the most southern district, constituted an area of 2,500 square miles, the Kistna river flowing 600 miles parallel to it.

(ii) Kondapally or Murtazanagar, on the northern banks of the Kistna stretched 120 miles from Masulipatam to Hyderabad, covering an area of 3,400 square miles.

(iii) Ellore comprising the whole space between the Godavary and the Kistna, the districts of Masulipatam on the

east and the inland district of Kammammetta on the west. The Colleru lake, into which fell the waters of the rivers and the streams flowing towards Gollapalem, divided the Circars into two equal parts.

(iv) Rajahmundry, separated from Ellore by the Godavary, covered an area of 500 square miles, but was of greater value in proportion to its extent than any place in the East except the famed delta of Egypt.

(v) Masulipatam covered the east coast of the Northern Circars.

(vi) Chicacole or the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, the most northerly district of the Northern Circars was subdivided into two—Vizag and Jeyapore under the chief and council of Ganjam.

These districts had a thick population, a revenue of Rs. 1 crore and 31 lakhs, an annual commerce of Rs. 75 lakhs, with facilities of transport over a coast of 470 miles length, between Madras and Calcutta. All the coastal villages hummed with the handloom industry which employed the finest skill in the districts. The Company agents used to distribute annual advances to the weavers through the native agents or the 'Copdars' to get quicker, cheaper and better return. But these undertakings did not meet with much success as the traditional implements and the techniques of production of the East could not readily meet the rising European demand. Further the social organisation of peasants and artisans offered an effective if silent resistance to the encroachments of western organisation which was not yet backed by the authority of the ruling class. The continuous efforts of the East India Company to sustain the weaving industry gave no relief to the artisans as they were paid extremely low wages; they were demanding higher wages in view of the mounting cost of living. But they were coerced to work by being confined within the factory walls.²

The Company was faced with the problem of administering these districts. It had not the courage to uphold its power by opposing the zamindars who seemed formidable; nor had they the necessary knowledge of the social and economic conditions of the people. They had no idea of the size of the population, the state of manufacturing industry, the nature of the prevailing land tenures, the number of the Rajahs, and the zamindars and their fortresses and armies. Hence the Company decided in 1775 to appoint a Circuit Committee to tour the Northern Circars and investigate and report on the social and economic conditions in

the districts. It was actually appointed in 1777, but, its work was suddenly stopped in 1779 by Sir Thomas Runbold on the ground of administrative expediency.³ It was revived again in 1783 and continued its work till 1788. But, the committee did not succeed in getting much reliable information, as the zamindars and their assistants not only misguided it, but, even gave wrong information. They felt that it was against their interests to reveal the facts and give correct information.⁴ They were collecting revenue according to their own discretion without the permission of the ruling power.⁵ All the zamindaries were divided into two categories, namely, (a) the low-land zamindaries and the (b) mountain zamindaries. The low-land zamindars were to collect government revenue and administer justice, in return for which they were assigned lands. The mountain zamindars were the descendants of the ancient Rajahs; they were allowed to use the income from lands, subject to payment of a tribute to the Company for preventing robberies. But, in course of time, both became princes and assumed fresh powers, used the revenue for their own purposes and even went to the extent of imposing heavy juncans on trade, manufactures, arts and crafts with disastrous consequences.

The majority of lands in the Circars were either haveli or zamindari. Most of the zamindars were either Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Velamas or Kammas. But the question of their basic right to the land was an unsolved riddle to the Circuit Committee, which often wrongly identified them with the feudal barons of Europe. This misled the Company to claim a considerable part of the harvest, ignoring the rights of the ryots.⁶

According to the Circuit Committee, Ganjam consisted of government lands like Barwa, Ichapoor, Mansurkota, Ganjam, Aska, Pubbakonda and Berhampore, besides 4 mootas viz. Conlah, Inyonce, Bantagamarada and Baumanchoy. The five parganas on the sea coast comprised within themselves all the ports in the district. Land was fertile and produced abundant paddy, various dry grains, cotton, oilseeds, tobacco, sugarcane, etc. The peasants supplemented their income from agriculture by manufacturing palempores, saris, muslins and plain cloth for native wear. Mandasa, Bodasangi, Zelantra were good weaving centres. Mohiri was well-known for its silk manufacture. It was exporting goods worth a lakh Rs. while Vizianagar produced cloth just enough for internal consumption. The imports into Ganjam consisted of raw silk, gold thread, copper,

tin, spices, opium, broad cloth, etc.⁷

In Chicacole and Kasimkota Circars, rice and dry crops were produced besides cotton manufactures, like saries, muslins, moors and long and fine cloth which used to be exported to Hyderabad. This industrial excellence began to decline with the emigration of the weavers from the havelies and the zamindaries in search of pastures new.⁸ This emigration of population was due to drought and high prices of grain as well as new and oppressive assessments on all the necessities of life which led to spread of indigence in the whole of the Circars. Except the Circuit Committee reports, there was no other authoritative source of information about the conditions prevailing in the Circars during this period. The manufactures were mostly of coarse cloth of 12 to 20 punjams, chiefly meant for muslims and for making turbans in the Northern zamindaries. Fine muslins with varied silk borders used to be made at Kimeddy. There were 10,170 looms in the Circars, producing cloth worth 12,204 pagodas annually. The Dutch were exporting annually from Bhimlipatam alone 1,000 bales. Considerable varieties of fine punjams were also commissioned from the southern parganas of the Circars. But, as a result of the European war, discouragement of weavers by the English merchants, high price of provisions, heavy imposition of taxes on trade, industry and commerce both by the Company's servants and by the native Rajahs, the exports of the products of native industry were reduced from 1785 onwards. The heavy inland customs deterred the brinjaries who were the chief carriers of internal commerce from carrying cotton from the Central Provinces and Berar to exchange with the coastal salt; the rate of customs duties rose from Rs. 40 on 100 bullocks to Rs. 167 in certain zamindaries. Consequently, the salt manufacture at the Nowpada salt cotars began to decline from its original estimate of 1,500 garces annually.

Despite this depression, the zamindars of Palconda, Mandasa, Nandapuram, Golkonda, Andra and Kimmidy were spending a sum of Rs. 6,65,403 on a sibbandi of 15,709, in wasteful pomp and splendour. The havelies of Chicacole, Kasimkota and Zelli-more were in ruins. Chicacole, once the seat of the famous Kalinga empire, had nothing more than a few mean houses and thatched huts, inhabited by the families of sepoy battalions.

Thus the Northern Circars then presented all the evils that result from an anarchical regime. The condition of the artisans was miserable. The Company did not agree to the Circuit Com-

mittee's recommendation to remove the taxes on weavers. It was greedy to exact as much as it could; and was more rapacious than the zamindars in its unscrupulous collections of tax on every loom, every piece of cloth, every family, every washing green and every chopping centre. Besides there were the taxes on salt, grains, cloth, bazar articles, inland trade, betel nuts, betel leaves, arrack, bracelets and luxuries in Vizag.⁹ The unscrupulous method of loom collections, the tyranny of the copdar system and the unfair exercise of political power to coerce the unwilling artisans to work on unattractive wages compelled the weavers to forsake their trade and adopt different ways of life. The population began to thin down considerably as most of the people emigrated. If heavy duties on cloth and muslin affected adversely the fortunes of the handloom industry, the lack of men to cultivate the soil diverted lands to dry crops, and people started importing food grains from the more fortunate neighbouring places.¹⁰

Similar conditions prevailed in Noozeed and Charmahal zamindaries also. The cotton manufacturers were just adequate to meet the local needs. The distance from the coast and the lack of demand for their goods provided little inducement to the artisans.¹¹ The constant migration of population and the recurring droughts adversely affected both the handicrafts and agriculture. Though Charmahal zamindary was a great paddy producing tract, much of the arable land was out of cultivation for want of labour.¹² To add to these were the depredations of the zamindars who threatened the security of property and who robbed people on travel. This general unrest and disquiet added to the difficulties of weavers and roused them to a big revolt. Strikes and conspiracies became a usual feature among them and the agriculturists were left in destitution.

Ceded Districts : Prior to the advent of the Company, the Ceded Districts were almost reduced to barren waste by the rapine and plunder of the poligars and their armed followers. Revenue accounts were destroyed and trees were cut, leaving only dry hill-tops. In these circumstances, Sir Thomas Munroe had to encourage cultivation by giving free advances to ryots of seeds, implements, bullocks, carts and, in many cases, even money for subsistance. Out of 50,222 wells, nearly 14,000 were out of use by 1801. The indolent and corrupt officials of the Nizam left the revenue accounts to the patels and the poligars, who turned every village into a garrison fighting pitched battles,

while the head men behaved like potentates and lead the banditti.¹³

The impotence of the Nizam's officers, the predatory habits of the native forces, the frequent change of governments and the disturbed frontier situation which enabled the offenders to escape, all these factors conspired together to create a state of anarchy, scarcely described in the annals of India. "No other part of South India was in a more unsettled state or had acquired by tradition or experience the blessings of a settled government. The stagnation of trade and manufactures, taxation and general insecurity, the want of a system of judicature combined to produce a state of things, wretched in the extreme, from which it would be in vain to hope for a sudden or rapid improvement."¹⁴ The mass of cultivators were oppressively taxed both by the renters of the Nawab and the leading inhabitants who, as sub-renters, acted as additional instruments of extortion. They were hoarding and were obstructing trade and commerce. There was no trader and no roads. Those roads that were in existence were in a bad condition, infested by robbers and dacoits. Land transport was chiefly by pack bullocks ; but it was prohibitively costly, coming to 4 st. pagodas for one garce of grain for every 8 miles. Hence the chief trade route was the sea, by which grain, tobacco and clothes used to go in country craft to Hyderabad and the southern districts. But this trade too had perceptibly declined after 1800.

Nellore : The proximity of Nellore to the Presidency headquarters exposed it to many corrupt influences. The confusion and uncertainty of the revenue system, the oppression of the renters, the vicious rapacity of the Nawabs....the fraud and venality which had infested all ranks, the poverty of the cultivators who were 9/10 of the country and their ignorance were pathetic.¹⁵

(b) *Handicrafts* : The establishment of foreign rule, followed by an economic crisis and changes in the commerce of the districts led to the gradual extinction of the textile industry in the east coast. There was no capital for investment; nor was there adequate encouragement for the native products. As a result, a majority of the weavers of Bhimlipatam, Vizagapatam, Tuni, Neelapally, Bandamoorlanka, Ingeram, Madapolam and Masulipatam were slowly forced to work as agricultural labourers.¹⁶

The price of yarn rose from 1 anna to 7 annas and that of rice from 20 kunchams to 5 a rupee. In view of the rising cost of

raw materials and food grains, the weavers demanded higher wages. The East India Company was not prepared to pay higher wages to them; nor did they allow them to work for other European agents like the Dutch, the French and the Portuguese who were always willing to pay them higher and offer better contracts and treatment.¹⁷ On the contrary, they took every precaution to maintain the indirect and low advances they gave through the native agents, called the 'copdars', who were paid 10 per cent. commission to meet the risks involved, in addition to an advance of 40 per cent. of the investment, the remainder being paid after the production of cloth.¹⁸ The copdars always kept a part of the advance on the loom to keep the weavers in eternal bondage to them and to the company. From the time the weaver started his work, the company servants were detailed to watch his work; if he failed to deliver the agreed assortments within the specified time, he was not only to feed the servants sent to watch him, but he was also dragged to the Company forts to be flogged and sent back to expedite the work. As if this harassment was not enough, the Company expected its commercial residents at Ingeram, Madapollam, Vizag, Masulipatam and other coastal factories to force the weavers to work on credit and export the cloth to England, payment being made at the Company's convenience. The struggling and starving weavers were disinclined to receive advances or to work for the English Company. In sheer disgust, the weavers refused to weave an inch of cloth to the English merchants. The commercial residents at the coastal factories had a hard time in pacifying the weavers, who accused them of deliberate indifference. The weavers in Madapollam, in a memorandum to the Resident, said, "we refused to accept your contracts because you refused to consider the losses we had incurred in the previous famines. The pariahs who were preparing the yarn were dead. The French and the Dutch advanced us a great deal more, paid us better wages, gave us 2 months more time to complete the assortments we failed to give in time.... You never care for our difficulties. You promised consideration. We believed you. We went home. You have not divided the motha; you have not raised the wages; you promised to write to Madras, but you have not ; you paid no heed to all our representations, but, sent peons to watch over us and you have disgraced us."¹⁹ When the Commercial Resident sent this petition to the Board of Trade, the reply to him was, "You have been appointed a *goomasta* (clerk) to superintend the

weavers in Pandalapaka, Mandapeta and other mothas and to endeavour to keep the weavers strictly to their engagements and to prevent them from private engagements. Should you find any private cloth any time on their looms, cut it out, use every method in your power to expedite the work and see that they will not give cloth to any one but the Company."²⁰ This attitude of the Company rendered desperate the position of the Commercial Resident at Madapollam and also those at other centres who were convinced of the weavers' difficulties. They asked the Home Government to dismiss or discharge them.²¹ The Company authorities at Home who received their complaints did nothing to remove the difficulties. They only attempted to bring further pressure on the weavers by asking the zamindars and the native rulers to assist their Commercial Residents in dealing with the weavers. This only invited more trouble for themselves and for their Commercial Residents. The weavers organised a huge strike throughout the Andhra districts.²² About 300 influential weavers summoned their tribe for supper at Nidadavolu (West Godavary) one night and unanimously decided not to weave an inch of cloth for the East India Company merchants. The next morning, they started moving from Nidadavolu to Mogeltore and other parts of Andhra, to extend the strike. "It was the most serious and important strike since it involved the interests and prosperity of the British Empire."²³ The Commercial Resident ran to Rajahmundry and called the ring leaders to place their grievances for his consideration. They went to him. Their difficulties were not unknown. They reiterated their bitter opposition to the coercive threats, low wages, strict assortments, unfair treatment. Unless these conditions were rectified, they said they would not weave for the English company any more. Instead of trying to consider these genuine difficulties, the Commercial Resident took unfair advantage of their calling off the strike and forced on them more vexatious and humiliating conditions of work, by prohibiting the merchants from selling them any stores or provisions at any cost. He forced them to work with their own capital and prevented them from working for any other merchants.

Ingeram : Ingeram was a fine port where ships could land easily and provisions were cheap and easily available. It was better situated and the surroundings too were better than those of Madapollam and Vizag, which were unhealthy and insanitary. There were 1,170 looms with skilful and efficient weavers.²⁴ But

the depopulated condition of the centre made it difficult to get labour. The weavers chose to work as coolies or palanquin bearers for the Dutch or the French rather than weave cloth for the English Company. The English agent at Ingeram took strong measures to prevent the weavers from taking private advances, confined them to factories with peons to watch over them and forced them to work.²⁵ With all this trouble, he was not able to export cloth worth more than 7,000 m.p. from Coringa, as most of the weavers in Catravolapally preferred to weave for private merchants.²⁶ For about 70 years, Tuni used to be the main supplier of cloth to Ingeram factory. Even the weavers there, preferred to sell their cloth to merchants from Vizag.²⁷ With the intervention of the Board of Trade, the cloth of Tuni was diverted to Ingeram.²⁸ But other foreign agents continued to have greater advantage than the Company servants in procuring cloth as, unlike the English who absolutely gave them copper coins, they gave the weavers immediate advances in silver, gold and Japanese dubs. Further, the English put a chop on each cloth woven, with the result that the weavers were greatly dissatisfied. According to the commercial resident at Ingeram, "There were great uprisings. A body of 300 weavers came to the factory, the same number assembled in the town and a third group gathered at Hussainalibad. It is impossible to conciliate them without increase in prices and less strict assortments. They went home agreeing to go to their looms, but nobody was at work. All the looms were tied up and they refused to return to them till the prices were increased and the duties levied were removed. Several parties of 200 and 300 weavers were found collected in every part, agitating for removal of their grievances."²⁹ In the midst of all these difficulties and the Company's indifference to the grievances of the workers, the Ingeram factory had 150 villages working for it. Similarly, Bandamoorlanka also had different parganas, each pargana consisting of 10 to 200 villages. The parganas were Mandapeta, Nidadavolu, Biccavolu, Tuni, Vellakota, Changalnanda, Cadeam, Pithapuram, Itakota, Catrevukona, Moomidivaram, Peruru, Tatipaka, Peravaram, Vanapally, Achanta, Aravilly, Narasapuram, etc.³⁰ The factory had 5,000 looms, producing 55,000 bales of long cloth, 25,000 bales of middling and 6,000 bales of long cloth fine for the East India Company.

Masulipatam : The world-famous chintzes and palempores of Masulipatam continued to be in demand in Persia, Egypt,

Iran, France, Batavia and the whole of Europe. Every year 50,000 m.p. worth of goods used to go to Balasore and thence to the continental markets. This rich export trade was long in the hands of Moghul and Armenian merchants. The Company merchants started harassing the weavers for giving their cloth to the foreign agents and insisted on the weavers delivering it to them and to none else.³¹ The unwilling reluctant weavers who ran away in search of employment elsewhere and to escape from these harsh and oppressive conditions were caught and brought back to work. The Company wanted the weavers to consider it as a great act of mercy, as they did not allow them to suffer without work during the famines that occurred between 1787 and 1794, when foodstuffs were rare and costly. The Commercial Resident asked them to be grateful to the Company which saved them from starvation and the consequent migration for work elsewhere.³² But the weavers' patience was exhausted; in despair, they refused to work for the Company whatever might happen. The Company was reluctantly compelled to abolish the dubious duties and also offered exemptions from defalcations, with a provision of 2,683 m.p. for 1791-99, if the weavers agreed to work for the English Company alone and not for any other foreign merchant or private individual. The Company merchants, taking advantage of the helpless Andhra weavers, promised them reduction in chopdar fees, in rates of chops and made them do the work; but, ultimately did nothing. The weavers were once again disillusioned and disappointed.³³

Vizagapatam: The Dutch factories at Vizagapatam, Bhimlipatam and Nagapatam were also producing the finest long cloth which was in great demand in England, France and Holland. In addition, they brought in the open market all the available cloth from the weavers by offering them a decent price. The English Company merchants could not maintain an exclusive monopoly or prevent the other nationals buying from the weavers. When they found it impossible to improve their trade, they started asking the zamindars of Vizianagaram, Chicacole and Kaikalur who were unable to collect revenues due to bad seasons, to impose heavy juncans on the cloth sold by the weavers to outside private parties or foreign merchants.³⁴ Tired of this continuous harassment by the English merchants and their commercial agents, the weavers left their looms and dispersed in gangs, refusing to weave for the English Company.³⁵ This threatened a complete cessation of all trade in piecegoods at

Vizag, as it became difficult to persuade the weavers to come back.³⁶ Only the occurrence of a natural calamity like the great famine towards the end of the 18th century gave a chance to the commercial residents to attract the weavers, by offering to allow them to pay their debts to the Company in kind and also by providing them foodstuffs during work. This serious famine brought the weavers back to work and they became victims of organised exploitation. They were made to pay in kind, many times their actual debt.³⁷ They were made to sign bonds, the contents of which they did not know. The bad behaviour of the Company clerks towards the weavers was without parallel. If the weavers refused to accept low wages, they were tied to a tree by the girdle, were severely flogged and then let off. The price fixed by the clerks was in all places at least 15 to 40 per cent. less than the market price.³⁸

(c) *Agriculture* : Agriculture was badly affected in the Circars. Cultivation could not be carried on by the peasants without external aid. The Company had a two-fold task in this connection ; firstly, it had to curb the native salt-farmers and dubashees who were collecting and appropriating the revenue to themselves, and secondly, it had to encourage the destitute farmers to take to cultivation by free distribution of paddy seeds. In 1795, the Company distributed 200 maunds of paddy seeds. The Company also had to repair tanks and irrigation works and giving takkavi loans in Masulipatam, Vizag, Ganjam, Guntur, Rajahmundry and ceded districts, to grow commercial crops like cotton, indigo, pepper, mulberry, sugarcane, and cinnamon.³⁹

Guntur was growing 3,000 to 4,000 garce of cotton going upto 6,000 tons in a favourable season. A fall in price to Rs. 3 per garce discouraged its cultivation and induced the peasants to grow jute, gongura or cucumbers. In Inakonda and Bellamkonda, the cotton cultivation was one-fourth and in the talukas it was one-sixth.⁴⁰ Vizag used to meet its cotton requirements by purchasing it from the Brinjaries who used to bring it from the Central Provinces and Berar in exchange for the coastal salt.⁴¹

Sugarcane was abundant in the Circars while sugar and jaggery were manufactured in Guntur, Chicacole, Nilapally, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Vizag, Ganjam and Aska. Especially Ganjam and Aska were vying with each other in cheaper sugar production. The persistent efforts of the Collectors in the Circars brought down the price of jaggery to M.P. (Madras

Pagodas) 8-11-41 per candy which was half the price of sugar at Ganjam after all deductions were made towards quit rent, refuse, etc.⁴²

In Vizag it was manufactured at the rate of Re. 1-3-4 per maund of 25 lbs. including every charge, equivalent to M.P. 10 per candy or M.P. 2-10-6 equivalent to Re. 1-7-4 per cwt. The price of various kinds of sugar per cwt. in M.P. were as follows : 1st sort, M.P. 17-6 ; 2nd sort, M.P. 14-12 ; and 3rd sort, M.P. 11-18. The increased price of tobacco and its annual export of 3,000 candies from Nellore to Madras were enriching the Company agents and the traders while the peasants were left without any benefit.

Moreover, the absence of any fixed land tenures, the occurrence of frequent drought, failure of crops due to lack of irrigation works, lack of vigilance and knowledge of revenue matters, the intrigues of the revenue servants, all together made agricultural progress almost impossible.⁴³

During the drought of 1726-33, the price of rice rose from 50 seers to 24 seers and later to 17 seers a rupee. The situation became still worse during the famine of 1782, when it shot up to 9 and 7 seers a rupee. The Company found it impossible to check this steep rise as the famine raged in all its horrors. The bodies of those who died of starvation in the streets at all hours were left without any one to inter them and were collected in carts to be buried in large trenches outside the town. Public subscriptions were collected to feed the distressed people in choultries and some were sent to Ganjam, Vizag, Nellore, Palacole, etc., besides entrusting large numbers of people to the care of the zamindars, till such time as conditions improved and they were able to earn their livelihood.⁴⁴ There was a wide gulf between the good wishes of the East India Company and the unwise, inexpert, unorganised and ungenerous methods of relief they afforded to the public. Reliance was put chiefly on the policy of placing an embargo and removal of duties on import ; but no general policy of relief was ever formulated or followed. Each famine was an isolated and unexpected phenomenon with which the Company dealt with in an extremely hesitant manner.⁴⁵

The position was no better during the famine of 1792. Plundering and robbery became general. The mortality rate of men and cattle was high. In Peddapuram alone three-fourths of the people perished. People rushed to the fields to eat unripe

corn. Others looted houses. Some emigrated to other parts, while a few drowned themselves. Large villages of 2,000 and 3,000 population had only 100 left, the smaller ones had but a score of people.⁴⁶ The chiefs and councils and the Collectors suggested to the Board of Revenue exemption of duties and abolition of customs on food grains and remissions of land revenue to give relief to the peasant. They also suggested price control and government trading in food grains to mitigate the distress. As internal crop production totally failed, Bengal cargoes became the main support. In Ellore alone, when 9,000 candies were required to feed the population, not more than 7,000 were available. When at last the government resorted to price control and fixed the selling price at Rs. 35 a garce, the traders and the merchants refused to sell at that price, as their own cost price came to Rs. 100 a garce. Then all the merchants, baniya dealers, dubashees and others were asked to keep not more than 10 candies for their personal consumption and deliver the surplus to the Company for distribution to the public.⁴⁷ Merchants ignoring this order were threatened with confiscations and sale of their grains, payment being made at the end.⁴⁸ Even this measure failed to produce the desired effect as the grain merchants were reluctant to co-operate.⁴⁹ Large revenues were lost to the Company due to the failure of crops and the failure of zamindars to pay revenue.⁵⁰ Then the Board of Revenue suggested in 1795 the construction of a chain of granaries on the coast of Coramandal. Others made the suggestion of having village stores instead of granaries and construction of small irrigation works as well as import of foodstuffs by sea, establishment of stores, abolition of duties in the territories of the Company and those of the native Rajahs, etc. If the Company had heeded and acted on any of these suggestions, there would not have been another disaster in 1799 and yet another one in 1802, when crops failed and prices rose high throughout the Andhra districts.⁵¹ What the Company did was small in comparison to what it left undone, both in the Circars and the Ceded Districts. "It cannot be said that in the course of its curious career, the Company showed a marked aptitude to deal with these calamities. But, through its own failure, it taught the government that succeeded some lessons of value; and at least in the last years of its existence, it confessed it had some obligations to the subjects over whom it ruled and to the shareholders by whom it was controlled."⁵²

(d) *Revenue*: No information on the revenue organisation of these parts is available other than that provided by Charles Grant's Political Survey of Northern Circars and the reports of the Circuit Committee which toured the Circars from 1785 to 1788. On the acquisition of the Circars by the Company, their revenue administration was placed in the hands of a few renters, like Kondregula, Jogipantulu, Juggiah, Balakrishna Naidu, Kodandaraju and Tallapragada Venkatrayadu. From 1766 to 1769, Hussainalikhan, an ex-employee of the Nizam, was solely kept in charge of collecting revenue from the Northern Circars. Then came the chiefs and councils. The Board of Revenue was established in 1786. But the constant accumulation of arrears and the inability of the chiefs to collect them forced Lord Hobart to abolish them and start the appointment of Collectors from 1796. From 1796 to 1802, efforts were made to introduce Permanent Settlement in the Northern Circars as in Bengal.

The Government revenue mainly consisted of (a) '*Mahal*', and (b) '*Sair*'. '*Mahal*' or property in land was the chief source of revenue. '*Sair*' constituted a variety of imposts on personal property, fluctuating and uncertain in amounts, like (1) the *mahasul* or the customs on imports and exports, (2) *rahadary* or inland toll collected at different chokies on inland merchandise at different rates in different zamindaries, (3) *pandhary* or a tax on shops of retail merchants in towns at different rates in different zamindaries, (4) a tax on houses, (5) tax on looms, (6) tax on marriages, (7) licences to liquor sellers, (8) tax on keepers of brothels, (9) *moturpha* on artificers and manufacturers, (10) *jijiya* on pilgrims going to Hindu or Muslim pilgrim centres, (11) *foujdari* or fines, (12) compensation for *chout* or one-fourth of the litigation fee from courts, (13) profits from the salt cotars coming to two-thirds of the prime cost of Rs. 1 lakh, exclusive of the quantity annually exported to Bengal, (14) annual rents from the fishermen, tax of Rs. 1 'per tree' on palmyra and cocoanut trees on the sea coast, coming in all to Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. The total of all these did not exceed one-tenth of the public income of the Circars. Though Aurangzeb had provided for the abolition of such taxes, the foujdars, jagirdars, chiefs and councils under the Company continued to collect them.⁵⁸

Annual cowles were first introduced in the name of Hussainalikhan and Jogipantulu from 1766 to 1769. After the expiry of the first year, Hussainali was evicted and the lease

amounts were enhanced in spite of the protests of the zamindars. In some cases, separate agreements were entered into with their managers as in the case of Vizianagaram.⁵⁴ In Chicacole,, the enhancement was M.P. 8,000 over that of 1766. The renters who were continued in other estates like Kimidi were forced to give guarantee bonds in lieu of arrears.⁵⁵ Old zamindaries were dismembered and in their place, new ones were created like Ichapuram and Kimidi. The zamindars and the Company shared one-third of the land revenue. This led to great internal deterioration of these lands. The system of annual rents totally destroyed all initiative as the renters did not take any interest in the soil nor did they make any improvement.⁵⁶ Bigger zamindars who stood security to the smaller ones also lost one by one. Arrears were never written off, but collected on the plea that it would be bad precedent to leave them.⁵⁷ This exorbitant collection of revenue excited some rebellious chiefs like Ganapati Deva of Kimidi to butcher into pieces the chief who came to collect the revenue in 1774.⁵⁸ This did not deter the Company from following its policy in the middle Circars which were entrusted to the chief of Masulipatam. The Havelis of Noozeed, Moostafanagar and Ellore were leased to Pykara at M.P. 16,500, Rajahmundry to Timmaji at M.P. 7,000 which was later raised further. A personal tour of all the Circars by the chief of Masulipatam resulted in an overall increase of M.P. 200,000 in the revenues of the Company and enabled it to meet its increased civil and military expenditure of M.P. 3 lakhs as well as its payment of 5 lakhs for the maintenance of the Nizam's troops.⁵⁹ In its anxiety to collect as much revenue as possible, the havelis were even farmed out every year with enhanced assessments and where sahukar securities could not be procured from the zamindars as in the case of Niladri Rao of Pithapuram, the Company did not hesitate to enter into separate agreements with the sub-renters for guaranteeing the payment of revenue.⁶⁰ Sir Thomas Rumbold who was then the Governor of Madras added to this confusion by calling the zamindars to Madras and enhancing their rents by 12½ per cent. which actually meant an increase of 50 per cent. on the original burden. But, he was soon dismissed as he and his assistant were found to have misappropriated to the extent of Rs. 20 and 10 lakhs respectively, keeping the Company in arrears. The Circuit Committee by now submitted its reports, in which it suggested the appointment of a European Superintendent in the zamindaries and

havelis, the discontinuation of the method of renting, assessment after proper survey, the formation of havelis into divisions consisting of 3 or 4 parganas placing each division under a native manager subordinate to the superintendent who should rent the villages in small allotments to the inhabitants granting cowles, and specifying the shares to which the renters were entitled. The Committee had also recommended the grants of takkavi loans to the cultivators for carrying on the cultivation.⁶¹

The Board of Revenue which was created in 1786 wanted to remove the military attaches to the zamindars, but was afraid to do so. Mr. Oram who was appointed the first superintendent of havelis was dismissed and the collectors and assistant collectors who were appointed in 1796 to administer the havelis tried to settle the rents with the head renters of the village as well as with each cultivator separately. As an alternative, they also started village settlements on the purchase value of the ground-rent. But, these methods proved very imperfect and troublesome. Hence the havelis which continued separately till 1792, were annexed to the areas under chiefs and councils.⁶²

Two different methods of land revenue were attempted : (a) Aumani settlement according to which the produce was settled between the cultivator and the state with the attendant risks of robbery and spoilation ; and (b) farming of rents by parganas. These methods improved the collection of revenue as well as the condition of the ryots.

The settlement of Masulipatam under survey valuation of crops in the following years proved very unsatisfactory. A committee which was appointed to investigate into the causes of administrative inefficiency was dissolved in 1791-92. Some zamindars were assessed at two-thirds of the gross revenue ; but the settlements were for three years with provision for extending for another two years. The southern division of Chicacole was assessed in 1788 at a higher rent which was confirmed subsequently.

But two important defects that still remained in the revenue administration were : (a) the ignorance of the staff of the native languages ; (b) and the extremely inadequate salaries paid to them against which Sir Charles White and Lord Cornwallis had protested vigorously, but, in vain. Sir Charles said, "When men are vested with considerable trust and so inadequately rewarded with various temptations around them, few would refrain from improper channels of gaining advantage and still fewer would

exert with zeal and ardour for the prosperity of the country."⁶³

The collectors were advised not to come into conflict with the zamindars. They were asked to supply information on the nature of the country, its population, economic resources, modes of assessment, collections by landholders, etc. They were also advised to learn the native languages, like Telugu, Urdu and Persian. The qualifications for the posts were also high and rigorously enforced. They were asked not to accept any private emoluments nor to act as rival authorities to the zamindars. They were not to interfere with their prerogatives and privileges, but to conform to them and promote peace and prosperity of the people.⁶⁴ The starting of a college in Calcutta for training officers from Madras considerably influenced the efficiency of administration. This wise and liberal policy appears to have given birth to a better order of things and established in the services a general sense of public virtue and laudable ambition.⁶⁵

Ceded Districts : There was no trace of revenue administration in the Ceded Districts prior to the advent of the Company.⁶⁶ Col. Sir Thomas Munroe, with his four assistants at Harpanahally, Cuddapah, Bellary and Cumbum, had to devote himself first to the reduction of turbulent vagabonds, as a condition precedent to the establishment of regular revenue administration in these districts, in spite of the protests of the Board of Revenue.⁶⁷

After restoration of peace, a survey was conducted to ascertain the actual extent of cultivable land, the different tenures in force, the types of crops grown, etc. Under the ryotwary system, in the Ceded Districts, the share of the government was fixed in terms of money rent, regulated by the market price of grain, for a series of years. The collector or his assistants toured the villages at the close of the season, assembled the ryots and fixed their rents and engagements. In times of distress, these rents were lowered ; in addition the ryots were given takkavi, advances for purchasing seeds, implements and housing labour. Under this system, the ryot knew the extent of land he had to cultivate and also the rent he had to pay. The Potail was obliged to give him a receipt for all the payments made.⁶⁸ Munroe's first settlement was a village one in Cuddapah, holding the cultivators individually and collectively responsible for revenue. The year 1778-79 was taken generally as the basis ; but, in cases where from calamities, the rent was low, the year 1779-80 was substituted.⁶⁹ These two years were the indices for the heavy-

est revenue collections. In 1779, the revenue collected was Rs. 18 lakhs and in 1779-80, it was Rs. 15 lakhs. The correctness of the figure Rs. 18 lakhs was doubtful as it was given by Tippu to make the revenues appear high after the fall of Serangapatam. But the collections in the next ten years of Muhammadan rule never reached that sum, the nearest being Rs. 15 lakhs in 1799-80. If Hindu rates were excessive and Muslim rates were rapacious, Munroe's rates were "war rates". He had instructed his assistants not to reduce the kist even if the ryots pleaded inability, unless they ascertained all the facts and at least 4 out of the 6 kists were paid.⁶⁹

The potails were held individually responsible for the rest of their villages and jointly for the rents of the district. Their settlements with inferior ryots were partly in kind and partly in money. The karnams (village officials) were threatened with dismissal if they failed to make full collections. If their collections exceeded the required amount, the surplus was left to them ; otherwise they had to make good, the loss. Thus the first settlement of Rs. 20 lakhs was collected at an enormous cost to the peasants. They were completely impoverished and could not take up cultivation without substantial aid for purchase of bullocks, grains, implements and carts. The loans advanced to them ranged between Rs. 2 and Rs. 50. On this basis, Madras Pagodas 6,000, 3,200, 4,000 and 3,000 were given as advances in Harpanahalli, Adoni, Cuddapah and Cumbam during the cultivation season of 1801-02. Even these inducements did not prove sufficiently attractive. Land had no saleable value and ryots started migrating in search of a living wage in other places.⁷⁰ Munroe could not reduce these rapacious assessments because he was afraid of losing his position.⁷¹ According to his own testimony, the greed of the Board of Revenue prevented him from exercising his own discretion as he himself said, "were I sure that every successive Board of Revenue would support the slow and gradual increase of assessment which has already been recommended, I would undoubtedly adhere to it, but, it is not likely that I shall be permitted."⁷²

All inams which were enjoyed under Tippu but later discontinued by the Nizam of Hyderabad were restored. An enquiry was made into the village service inams continued from the Vizianagar period. Few had sanads, while many were fraudulent additions during the period of the later Nawabs. All inams above 54 per cent. land rent were restored and every

potaile who possessed more than 10 per cent. of the inam was allowed waste land under Appanam patta, which he had to pay for and cultivate. There was a severe drought in 1801-2, when men died like flies by starvation, but Munroe collected revenue of Rs. 12 lakhs and Rs. 17 lakhs without any mercy⁷³ for each of these years.

The best comment on this revenue administration of the Circars and Ceded Districts would be that of Macaulay, who characterised the Company's attitude as "Govern leniently, but send us more money, practise strict justice and moderation, but send us more money, be the father and oppressor of the people, be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious".⁷⁴

Nellore : Nellore was in the same predicament as the Ceded Districts on the eve of its occupation by the Company. It was a victim of annual depredations during the Muslim rule. The turbulent poligars had to be subdued by troops, before starting any regular revenue administration.⁷⁵ Even the rents fixed by the first collector were not paid in full, as the native officials swallowed a part. Alienation of land for arrears of revenue became common. Besides the grants of Nawabs to thanadars and foudjards, the renters and karnams had their own alienations unauthorised by the state. All jagirs granted after 1719 were declared invalid and added to the governmental lands. The first settlement made in 1801-02 sought the patta to gather information regarding the extent of cultivable land and the means of the inhabitants, as well as production per acre of the soil. Cowles were fixed for each village, fixing also the amount and extent of land. The share of the government ranged between Rs. 6½, Rs. 7½ and Rs. 8½ per putty of wet produce and 10, 11, 11½ and 12 pagodas per putty of dry grains.⁷⁶ Considerable difficulties were experienced in settling rents for crops like "makka" and "sajja". Ryots cared for their own lands more than for cultivating government lands. They demanded assessments in proportion to their labour as the land was improved solely by their efforts. The amount of rent was calculated to be M.P. 3,65,864 but, demand on all accounts amounted to M.P. 4,55,420.⁷⁷

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CHAPTER III

COMMERCE, CURRENCY AND TRANSPORT

(1) *Commerce*

The commerce of the Andhra districts in this period consisted of (a) external commerce, (b) inland river traffic in teak timber between the Circars and Hyderabad, (c) coastal trade, (d) inland trade, and (e) frontier trade.

(a) *External commerce* : The external commerce was in the fine fabrics, delicate muslins, inimitable palempores and chintzes of Masulipatam which went to England and France as well as to Malacca, Sumatra and other eastern islands. Madras was rivalled only by Goa and Batavia among the European settlements in the East.¹

Despite the difficulties of the artisans and the fierce foreign competition of British goods, the coastal fabrics still kept up their reputation in the foreign markets for elegance and beauty. They could never be equalled by the European machine-made cloth.² The secret of the technical efficiency of the weavers lay in their excellent tribal organisation into guilds and castes. It was difficult even to change the dimensions of the cloth. The Devangis and the Padmasalis, each wove a particular type of cloth. Combinations among the weavers were strong.³ The wealthier weavers were protecting their weaker brethren by giving them advances either without interest or at very low rates, to make them independent of the English investors, as the investments fell down from Rs. 40 lakhs to Rs. 45 lakhs in 1780 to Rs. 12 lakhs in 1796. The English themselves had no money and used to borrow even for provisional investment at 12½ per cent. interest. Still their investments could never exceed Rs. 50 lakhs till 1805.⁴ The proportion of exports to production was 1 : 10. Even if there was a fall in internal consumption, the total production was never less than Rs. 3 or 4 crores. Thus the manufacture of cloth continued to be in a prosperous state throughout the Northern Circars, particularly in the coastal villages of Ganjam and Chicacole which were famous for fine muslins and in Masulipatam which was well-known for its chintzes and palempores in high demand in Persia and Egypt. Private exports between 1801-05 amounted to 6,08,165 pieces valued at Rs. 29,99,721, while the total exports averaged about Rs. 75 lakhs per annum.⁵

Venkatapalem in Guntur produced the finest handkerchiefs

in the Circars, besides calicoes, various kinds of cloth, plain and coloured muslins and turbans. Rumals and kerchiefs used to be made in Nellore, Gudur, Rapoor and Kavali. Bellary was producing 200 varieties of fine piecegoods for foreign consumption.⁶

But the weavers were in wretched economic conditions, partly due to their own making and partly due to external circumstances. Most of them indulged in polygamy. Their wives were contributing their own earnings.⁷ Besides they enjoyed freedom from taxes and protection of their property.⁸ All the same, the commercial residents of the Company sought to ascribe all the evils of the trade to them and their indigence to their own idleness. Mr. Scot, the Collector of Ganjam, said they wasted money in gambling, cockfighting and jugglery which were the delights of a weaving village.⁹ According to the Collector of Vizag, fighters and magicians were kept amidst them for entertainment.¹⁰ The Board of Trade accused the weavers of never working well without the attraction of heavy advances.¹¹ Dr. Heyne remarked that money came like streams and they spent it like fools.¹² The Ceded Districts were an exception where a better class of weavers were earning Rs. 60 p.m. while what the lowest one earned was Rs. 8 per month. During the years 1801-05, the industry used to produce Rs. 420 lakhs worth of goods, while the Company agents and the Board of Trade were carrying on a merciless tirade against the weavers who had to work under conditions of the worst exploitation.¹³ An arbitrary distinction was made between the weavers who worked for the Company and those who did not, and exemptions from Moturphra were rarely granted except to a few in Masulipatam and Ingeram.¹⁴ Her trade was the most important to England in the 18th century.¹⁵ It was to maintain and expand her commerce that England went to wars and founded an empire.¹⁶ England was now experiencing the dawn of a new age which witnessed events—both destructive and creative—of the first order.¹⁷ Her trade was helped and stimulated by her new inventions, new communications, new transport and her new means of controlling the forces of nature, which enabled England to shut off the Andhra manufactures from the English markets.¹⁸ English industry profited at this time at the expense of the indigenous industries of Andhra districts.¹⁹ Between 1800-07, import duty in England on plains and flower chintzes of Andhra increased from 30 per cent. to 44 per cent. *ad valorem*

and the duties on calicoes rose from 21 per cent. to 22 per cent. in 1800 and to 85 per cent. in 1815.²⁰ As J. S. Mill said, "Had India been independent it would have retaliated and imposed prohibitive duties on English goods and thus would have protected her own industry from annihilation. She was at the mercy of the stranger and this act of self-defence was not permitted her. British goods were forced on her without any duty and the foreign manufacturers employed the arm of political power to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor, with whom they could not contend on equal terms."²¹ The period 1788-1803 was considered to be the golden age of the English textile industry. The East India Company lost its former glory, since England became financially independent and needed no more loans from it. To retain their commercial monopoly with the East coast, the Directors of the Company were not only willing to dump the British goods here, but were prepared even to export empty bottles in defence of pure self-interest.²² In their evidence before the House of Commons, many eminent public men in England like Warren Hastings, Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munroe, Sydenham, etc., strongly decried the hostile policy of the Company towards the east coast textile industry. The British Parliament, however, not only paid no heed to these protests, but sought to discover how best the British manufacturers could replace the Andhra industry.²³

(b) *Inland River Traffic* : The river Godavary running into the state of Hyderabad and even near Nagpur had always been a source of Andhra's rich timber trade. Attracted by the prospects of profitable commerce, the East India Company started negotiating with the court of Hyderabad for the grant of necessary commercial privileges and facilities. At the instance of the Board of Revenue, the Chief of Masulipatam sent an agent to negotiate with the court of Hyderabad.²⁴ As the British resident at Hyderabad wanted some particulars, the chief and council at Masulipatam was asked to depute a teak trader to afford all the necessary information.²⁵ Accordingly one Mr. Hamilton went to acquaint the Board of Trade with all the particulars like the nature and extent of local trade and resources, the method of procuring timber, the existing facilities of transport by river, the cost involved, the facilities offered by the timber warehouses provided by the zamindars for encouraging the trade, the difficulties of exchange, the unhealthy nature of marshy timber, the forests full of precarious hill fever and

also about the solicitous hillmen who would cut the chosen timber and bring it along the river at a very low cost.²⁶ He also told the Board of Trade that by the time this timber reached Coringa, it would be 30 per cent. dearer than Pegu teak or the good Noozed timber available at Bhadrachalam. Coringa was by this time an international emporium of trade in timber where 2,000 to 3,000 timber logs used to be available for sale. To maintain its importance and to improve its status in timber trade, he suggested the abolition of the vexatious customs duties which were hampering trade in many articles between these two ports. He said such an abolition would create a great demand for European goods in the Nizam's territories with ready markets for salt, opium, European broad cloth, muslins and red cloth in exchange for horses and bullocks that could be taken up in the Circars. He, however, agreed to deliver timber 10 per cent. cheaper than Pegu timber at Madras, if the Company granted medical help and protection of life and property to him and his assistants. He asked the Company also to clear the banks of bushes and give him a monopoly in the timber trade. According to his estimate, there was an annual export of 2,000 to 3,000 timber logs from Hyderabad to the Circars, in exchange for copper, European broad-cloth, salt, country cloth, muslins, shawls, saloos, opium, bullocks for draught and carriage, red cloth and Berhampore silks.²⁷ The Board of Trade agreed to give him all help, and from 1793, he opened a teak emporium at Coringa, where 1,000 timber logs were kept, with provision for supplying more. But the vexatious customs duties on this trade were never abolished in spite of the several representations sent to the Nizam in this connection. All the same, Coringa continued to be for long an important centre of trade in teak timber.²⁸

Enquiries in the Ceded Districts revealed that cheap timber was available at Cumbam and Gurramkonda, wherfrom it had to be transferred by carts and cheap labour. The remuneration to labour for carrying these heavy logs was not more than the daily batta. The wood was used mostly for military requirements and not for any civilian purpose. Beams of 2½ to 7 cubic feet used for garrisons were costing a rupee to carry. The teak of Rayachoty and Gurramkonda cost only Re. ½ to Re. 1 to remove from inaccessible heights. The transport charges came to 2/3rds of the original charge from Cumbam to Rayachoty and ¾ths of that from Gurramkonda. The teak of Basavapoor

near Gooty used to cost from Re. $\frac{1}{2}$ to Re. 1 per cubic foot. The rates for teak timber of the first sort, 7 yards in length, were St. Pagodas 2.8.73 and the cost of the 2nd and 3rd sorts, 5 yards in length, varied between 20 to 24 fanams.³⁰

(c) *Coastal Trade*: The coastal trade carried on by the native craft mainly consisted of exports of salt to Bengal (Calcutta) and Burma in return for the imports of rice and sundry goods for internal consumption. The entire sea coast from Ganjam to Nellcre held a monopoly in the production and sale of salt, which was made by the "Upparas" in the salt cotars in Pithapuram, Peddapuram in the Godavary district, Masulipatam in the Kistna district and in Vizag.³¹

The Company kept these artisans under the control of the native dubashis and renters, through whom it gave advances to the salt manufacturers. Influential renters, like Timmarao and Juggiah at Vizag and Juggappa at Masulipatam were bidding the salt pans at highest prices and were getting a good personal income.³² Being also in charge of the collection of land revenue, they held a very strategic position in the Company administration. However much the Company wanted to eliminate them, it could not do so for fear of endangering its own salt and other revenue.³³ On the other hand, the very mention of the idea of their elimination, led to their demands for heavy compensation. Jaggappa threatened an automatic cessation of all payments due to the Company, and, in addition, demanded 10,000 M.P. as compensation for forfeiting the existing privileges.³⁴ The Vizianagar renters similarly demanded a heavy revenue remission while the rent farmers at Pithapuram asked for a compensation of 5,000 M.P.³⁴ Other renters in Vizag, Nowpada and Kimidy went further and asked for an extension of this privilege. The renters in other places were prepared to give it up only if the Company was prepared to compensate them by revenue remissions or by compensation to offset their loss.³⁵ Under these circumstances, the Company had no option but to retain the existing intermediaries as farmers of salt revenues, while it refused to extend the privileges any further and started itself distributing advances directly to the manufacturers wherever possible.³⁶ This lack of a uniform policy led to chaos in salt production and carriage; further, the imposition of different rates of customs duties on native and foreign renters, the absence of good seasons and refusal to give commission to salt traders worsened the prospects of salt trade.

The famine of 1792 in the Circars, the salt imports from France to Burma and its manufacture in Bengal hit the salt exports of the coast and threw thousands of salt makers out of employment, reducing at the same time the usual imports from Bengal.³⁷

Attempts were made to revive the coastal trade with Bengal by lowering the price of salt and by offering to send it by the native craft in February, March, April, besides giving the Bengal merchants the option to buy salt at the pans and export it at their own coast. The transport cost was not more than Sicca Rs. 30 or St. Pagodas 70 by dhonies or Sicca Rs. 75 to Rs. 85 for 100 Bengal maunds, which was not higher than the cost price at Bengal.³⁸ Since Sumatra started manufacturing salt and stopped importing it from the coastal districts, Bengal became the chief buyer. It was important for the coastal districts to retain this trade at any cost, to help the salt labourers employed and also maintain the population on the imported rice of Bengal.³⁹ All the exports to Bengal and Sumatra were going through the Coringa port which was deteriorating for want of proper repairs.⁴⁰ While the heavy burden of customs was crippling the exports and imports, requests to the Board of Trade to stop collection of these duties on the exports and imports at least in times of distress at ports like Kalingapatnam, Mafusbander, Godlapadu and Narasim Bandar in Vizagapatam, were not heeded. They did not like to lose this rich source of revenue whatever the difficulties of the traders and the people in general. This led to a heavy fall in the population of the Circars due to starvation, death and unemployment and emigration of peasants in search of jobs. The insistence on the collection of injudicious duties clogged the wheels of commerce. In 1786-87, Kalingapatnam was a prominent sea-port on the Vizag coast. It was known for its coastal trade with the Circars and Bengal. In 1767, its exports included 3,460 garces of rice and 50 garces of paddy and Rs. 3,35,000 worth sundry goods, on which the duties paid were Rs. 704. In 1788-89 and 1790 it exported oilseeds and horsegram on which the duties paid were Rs. 6,704. In 1788-89 and 1790, it exported oilseeds and horsegram on which the duties paid for 1788, 1789 and 1790 were Rs. 7,870, Rs. 7,269 and Rs. 9,789 respectively. The imports were rice, roots, coir and iron from Masulipatam, on which the duties were Rs. 277, Rs. 392 and Rs. 500 for 1788, 1789 and 1790.⁴¹

The trade of other ports like Mafusbunder, Hakimbunder

and Godlapadu was of lesser importance. It consisted of exports only. They were from Mafusbunder and were paddy, natcheny, rice, dal and wheat, on which duties from 1787 to 1790 amounted to Rs. 879-12-0, Rs. 524-9-0, Rs. 1,664 and Rs. 1,509. Exports of dal, rice and paddy from Hakimbunder paid duties amounting to Rs. 1,179, Rs. 1,446, Rs. 1,657 and Rs. 1,365 and from Godlapadu, Rs. 1,232, Rs. 1,054, Rs. 1,342 and Rs. 1,404 from 1787 to 1790. The total amount of duties paid on imports and exports from 1785 to 1790 came to Rs. 48,266. There was also some trade going on between Bengal and Masulipatam in a variety of articles. The chief imports into Masulipatam were rice, paddy, grains, wheat, pepper, garlic, ginger, cominseed, sugar, nails, silk, piecegoods, sugarcandy, paper, glassware, tea, beef, European oils, rubber, boxes, brandy, ale, pipes, Bengal arrack, medira wine, etc., which, in 1795 alone, came to Rs. 61 lakhs. The rice imports used to be about 60,000 Bengal maunds.⁴²

In times of distress, duty-free imports of grain and other foodstuffs were at last agreed to by the Company, to save the coastal commerce as well as aid the starving population of the Andhra districts. In 1798, 2,000 garces of grain were imported duty-free into Guntur alone.⁴³ In due course, duties on exports of food grains and timber for vessel traffic were also removed. In addition, assistance by way of loans was given to the native craft-carriers to stimulate employment. As a result, trade increased to a large extent and merchants began to show signs of prosperity. The Company collectors did not like the prosperity of the native traders and were not giving them adequate burdens to export and even were stopping them often, till an appeal was made to the Supreme Government and a second firman was issued to remove all restrictions on the native traders.⁴⁴ The Collectors continued to press the Board of Revenue to participate and ultimately take over this fruitful coastal trade and at last succeeded in persuading the Board of Revenue, the Board of Trade and the Government of Ft. St. George to agree to this proposal. The Company traders then started participating in this coastal trade to the detriment of native interests.⁴⁵ They once again introduced the customs duties which were recently abolished, and exempted the Company traders from their imposition. They also introduced a duty of 2½ per cent. on cotton goods. In spite of all these difficulties that the Company inflicted on the Andhra craft carriers, vigorous boat-building activity continued unchecked at Vizag, Masuli-

patam and Guntur, where the collectors were authorised by the supreme government to give them advances for boat-building.⁴⁶ But, in the ports of Motapalli, Nagapalli, Chipurupollam in Guntur, the usual customs duties were introduced except those exempted by the Company. A duty of 1 per cent. on grain imports from the Company's territories and a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all exports except that of food grains were still in force.⁴⁷ Throughout the Circars, building the boats as well as loading and unloading of vessels was allowed duty free, except that one-fourth of the boat hire was to be paid to the boat-owner and three-fourths to the people who worked on the boat.⁴⁸

(d) *Inland Trade* : The inland trade too was not free from disabilities. It had also to suffer from lack of safe and regular means of communications, political unrest and economic insecurity as well as from heavy taxation at every stage.

As no proper roads existed in the Northern Circars, traffic had to pass through the fields. When the lambadies crossed certain districts with their loaded cattle, entire grain fields used to be spoiled. Hence in places like Masulipatam, they were allowed to travel only through certain villages in certain specified periods of the year, ranging from 24th September to 6th June.⁴⁹

As early commerce lay mainly in retailing, the seller and the buyer meeting each other, it became essential to establish fixed timings for their coming together.⁵⁰ This led to the establishment of weekly village fairs where foodgrains, vegetables, fish, cutlery, textiles, silks, shawls, carpets, steel, brassware, chintzes, knives, seasam, glassware and other articles used to be offered for sale. In the larger fairs in Nellore, Ongole and Guntur, livestock like sheep and cattle were available for sale. Three or four salesmen used to gather round a pole by hoisting a flag and sales were effected either in barter as in the case of greens and vegetables in exchange for condiments or cash without the intervention of any middlemen.⁵¹

These fairs were also held during religious festivals, called 'Thirthams', on the banks of rivers where toys, carpets, cotton, silk, glassware, knives, scissors, works of lac, ivory, pith, acour work, masonry, cloths—plain and coloured, rumals, men's dhoties, fine sarees, ladies' jacket cloth, sandals, images of favourite Gods, frameworks of lace, wood, brass and bronzeware, age-old articles and curiosities, besides livestock like cattle and goats were

offered for sale.⁵²

The chief commercial community were the komatis in Andhra, trading in money, silver, jewellery, etc.⁵³ They never cultivated lands though they were large landed proprietors. The panchamas and the balijas who also took to trade from the Telugu, Tamil and Canarese districts, had an efficient organisation under a headman who regulated dealings and provided for lodgings and warehouses for the agents who came from different parts of the country.⁵⁴ But, the Telugu komatis, who were half way between agriculture and commerce, very seldom took to mechanical professions. In Rajahmundry, they chiefly dealt in cotton which proved highly profitable.⁵⁵

There were others like government servants, Jain farmers and kurubas who took to trading as a side profession, dealing in brassware, chiefly in the Ceded Districts. The kuruba and grandhika merchants of Mysore were mainly cattle breeders and dealers.⁵⁶

The most important were the brinjaries who carried the commerce between Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore, carrying chiefly salt from the coast and European goods from Bombay to the inland tracts. They were a wandering tribe moving with their families in tents. They were supposed to be the camp followers of the Moghul emperors. If they halted anywhere on the way, their women used to gather fuel and sell it to the local inhabitants.⁵⁷ These tribes used to have an elected raik to regulate their itinerary and bargains. They enjoyed exceptional privileges, like immunity from attack in times of war, exemption from duties on their goods and guarantee of protection from the government.⁵⁸

Trade was well-organised. The European and native businessmen had a number of agents and sub-agents under them in different towns to settle their transactions with the local merchants and to store their goods in warehouses till a purchaser was found. In the Ceded Districts, a few merchants monopolised all the business as their agents were brokers of men in power.⁵⁹ The common rates varied from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent., according to the transactions and the nature of the risks involved, while on bills of exchange and procuring of loans it was 1 per cent. per month.⁶⁰

Duties on inland trade that were not in evidence for 35 years were introduced in every place. Attempts were made to get them abolished, but in vain. Their collection was a great

impediment to the trade of the havelies.⁶¹ No article could pass through them without paying the customs duties ; chowkies were kept at Masulipatam, Pratapore, Tagaram, Casba and at Publa-konda in Masulipatam.⁶²

Improved means of communications in the Circars stopped the need for cotton imports from Berar and Mahratta districts. The decay and ruin of commerce in the Andhra districts was mainly due to the various customs duties. Within a distance of 10 to 12 miles, there were collections at several chowkies. Between Ganjam and Aska, a distance of 9 miles, there were 9 chowkies to collect the customs duties, which made any exchange of commodities extremely difficult.⁶³

The inland trade was a considerable source of revenue, estimated at one-tenths of the land produce. But, its proper administration was made impossible by very cumbrous duties. Mr. Oram, the superintendent of the havelies, who was asked to examine the issue of *juncans*, observed that this was a branch of revenue too much exposed to abuse, to be entrusted to persons not liable to punishment. Even when the Company took up their collections, the first rates were easy and the customs houses few ; but, in course of time, new levies were introduced under the pretext of charitable donations, as fees for account-keepers, as protection money to zamindars, as presents to juncan-holders and their indulgence to some have operated to the total exclusion of all trade. The zamindars, besides collecting russooms in the paraganas, instituted a further fee of 3 pagodas on every 100 headloaded bullocks in addition to considerable tax on the salt, hitherto free, which was sent up the rivers.⁶⁴ Mr. Oram recommended their complete abolition with a view to encouraging trade and industry, and suggested instead the imposition of 1 per cent. general tax on the prime cost of articles, excepting the trade of the brinjaries.⁶⁵ Though the President of the Board of Trade agreed with Mr. Oram on the need for abolishing these vexatious *juncans* to improve trade and commerce, he was not prepared to do so for fear of defalcations in the Company's revenue in spite of the admitted realisation that unless something was speedily done to relieve the people and stem the rapid decline of trade and population at the Circars, there were likely to be most alarming consequences.⁶⁶ The Deshpandes and the public revenue servants, who were to check the renters of the agents, themselves became renters and kept no accounts and either falsified or withheld them whenever

they were wanted.⁶⁷ The customs duties continued to be collected at Ernagudem which was a great cotton centre on the Hyderabad frontier. There, the other commodities like tin, copper, spices, silk, cocoanut, coir, peppalamoly, and vasantagunda also used to be sold.⁶⁸ The zamindars of Mustafanagar and Ellore were also collecting duties from the lambadies coming from the west to buy salt at the Emmigavolu and Punarca salt farms, besides foudar fees on wheat, greengram and tamarind which they brought on their empty bullocks. But they were at last asked by the Company to stop these collections by substituting them by a duty of Rs. 8 on 100 bullocks-load of salt in Apparao of Noozeed country, Rs. 1½ on 100 bullocks-load of salt in Calavacollu Timmiah country,⁶⁹ Soornany Narasimharao zamindary⁷⁰ and Charmahal zamindary.⁷¹

The remissions of duty in Vizag increased commerce as certain malpractices were abolished and the banias were making 70 to 100 per cent. profit on cotton buying at an average rate of Rs. 13, 34, 35 and 36 and selling it at Rs. 50, 60, and 65 per bale.⁷² The contractors had also gained immensely along with the copdars, at the expense of the weaving artisans. They were receiving large advances with the uncontrollable right of disposal and thereby gained considerably by distributing the same to weavers. The lambadies were bringing cotton and wheat from the Mahratta countries in return for salt from the cotaurs on the coast.

Salt Petre : The Board of Revenue asked all the zamindars to entrust all their salt petre farms to Dr. Heyne, one of the botanists of the Company, who wanted to monopolise its manufacture by directly employing workers under him and fixing prices by contract with the manufacturers.⁷³ Wherever he could not stay to supervise the operations, as in Palnad, he tried to procure 300 to 400 candies at 5 to 6 pagodas a candy by settling the transactions through middlemen, called the Concicopies. He engaged these middlemen on contract for a year to 6 months at 10 pagodas per month, along with the peons at Rs. 4 to 5 per month, to assist them. Besides this, he also used to allow the Concicopies a commission of Re. 1 per candy. The contract price was fixed at the outset at 7½ pagodas per candy and even after deducting his charges for godown hire, wages for peons, commission for the middlemen and labour charges, he used to have a decent margin. The prime cost of a candy was about 1,397 M.P., while the selling price was

1,516 M.P. Hence he had engaged Concicopies in the Northern Circars to procure salt petre for him. Pithapuram, Peddapuram and Ellore proved to be extremely favourable for its manufacture.⁷⁴

Abolition of taxes on the weavers' houses, backyards, looms and raw materials used in the manufacture of cloth was suggested, but remissions were granted nowhere on the plea that collections were easy except in Vizagapatam and that too on the cotton imported by the brinjaries. The sali and the Indra weavers had to pay one-sixth to 2 pagodas per loom, the malas, the barbers, the banias, shepherds and the toddy tappers had to pay 1 to 10 pagodas for each 100 palmyra trees and the shepherds one-eighth to one-tenth pagodas per house per annum.⁷⁵ In Vizianagaram, taxes were imposed on baniyas' shops, oil-makers, cloth brokers, tagaram and paint merchants, country music vendors, farmers of tobacco and betel farms, opium sellers, bangle sellers, sellers of ganja, arrack and toddy amounting to a total of Rs. 33,530-12-0. In Chinaganjam, the prime cost of 100 bullocks loads of salt was Rs. 50 and the duty charged on that quantity within the Company's territories before it entered the Nizam's country amounted to Rs. 46-8-0 which proved ruinous to salt trade. Similarly, while Rs. 2-8-0 per 100 bullock-loads of salt was paid at Maddigatta ghat by those who proceeded to the salt pans in Vizag, Rs. 10 were exacted for the same load from those who took the salt.⁷⁶

It is difficult to trace the origin of several of these taxes or to account for their partial or inconsistent existence; it cannot be answered why the brokers of cloth at Uppada should pay a tax and not anywhere else, why the poor vendors of red yarn or white earth should be subject to a levy at Casimkota, which was not collected at any other place, even though all these collections could be abolished without any strain on the State revenues.⁷⁷

There were again two important taxes called the 'Bikir' and the 'Coida', collected from the banias for the advantages they derived from their trade and the security afforded them in their trade. The former was levied at the Kasba of Anakapalli and was a commutation for all moturpha from which they were relieved. Bakir was the daily tax which the brokers paid at the rate of 1½ dubs per rupee or 2 per cent. of the sale of articles. The Coida was a general tax, except at Kasimkota and Uppada, framed on the same principles as the Bakir, but not fixed, each

Baniya agreeing with the renter or manager to pay as much as his profits would allow him.⁷⁸

About the nature of the existing taxes of this period, more accurate information could not be ascertained as, in the words of a contemporary, "it has required no trifling researches even to collect the materials now furnished".

(e) *Frontier Trade* : There was considerable trade between Hyderabad and the Andhra districts which was sought to be revived.⁷⁹ Narayanapuram, between Masulipatam and Hyderabad, was a great emporium of trade and had several warehouses and godowns for storing the goods in transit.⁸⁰ Masulipatam traded in salt, chintzes, chaygoods, cloth and yarn of different colours ready for the loom, muslins, products of Bengal, Ganjam, Vizag and Chicacole, besides copper, to the tune of a few lakhs of rupees. The chay rumals used to be in high demand in Palacole.⁸¹ The Dutch merchants too used to send spices and goods across to Hyderabad. Due to occasional threats to the safety of the godowns at Narayanapuram by robberies, attempts were made to trade direct with Hyderabad. But this did not come too much, because of the heavy juncans and because of the robbers who infested the roads even on the frontier of Hyderabad. Hence police protection was sought to encourage the lambadies who brought to Masulipatam goods like northern cloth, Bengal silks, spices, etc. In Chicacole, salt manufacture and minting of copper coins gradually began to decline in importance. The Armenians and the Moghuls dealt mostly with silks as huge stocks were available with them. Small quantities of the Company's broad-cloth used to be sold at Hyderabad. Fine muslins worth Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 60,000 annually were sent to Hyderabad. Even this traffic began to decline in importance due to the oppressive taxation that crushed every branch of commerce.⁸²

Important articles exported from Masulipatam to Hyderabad were the finished silks, chintzes, tin, copper, carpets, rose-water, fine cloth which in return fetched chiefly money and articles, like wax, honey, cotton and wheat. These were usually brought by the brinjaries who invested a part of the return in buying salt in the vicinity of Masulipatam and carried the surplus money.⁸³

The commerce of Rajahmundry with Hyderabad was also subject to the same handicaps of excessive import and export duties, absence of any regular action except the caprice of the

customs staff, insecurity of property and pilfering of merchants by petty zamindars who had one or two villages on the road. Unless the merchants satisfied them, they stood the risk of being completely plundered.⁸⁴

The decline of this inter-territorial commerce was due to the injudicious and oppressive policy of juncans, the dwindling supremacy of Hyderabad over the Northern Circars and the consequent decline in its pomp and power in later days and the frequent occurrence of highway robberies.⁸⁵

The merchants of Hyderabad used to purchase at the Dutch factories of Jagannaikapuram, Palacole and Bhimlipatam articles like copper, tentage, cloves, nutmegs, maize, cardamom and sugar. They exported Vasantagunda, pepper, roots, turmeric, cocoanuts, shikai, chillies, salt from Ponnada sea port, rasakarpoomar or camphor to Anakapalli, rasachinduram (a mercury preparation), men's and women's clothing to Masulipatam and Chicacole and silk thread from Bengal. They imported dry cocoa from Itakota and tobacco from Guntur or Kondavidu. Ghee was also exported in large quantities, but it decreased as cultivation increased in the Circars and pasture lands became scarce. Imports into the Circars consisted chiefly of superior betelnuts, red flower to dye turbans, false hair for females, asafoetida, musk, dates, sandalwood, cinnamon, coriander seeds, Hyderabad paper, gorjanam, wheat, opium and cotton. Especially the last articles were imported annually to the tune of Rs. 2 lakhs.

Opium was mostly used by the hill people. Every collector pointed out that without abolishing the vexatious juncans, trade with Hyderabad could not be safeguarded.⁸⁶ At last when the Marquess of Wellesley entered into a treaty with the Nizam of Hyderabad on 12th April 1800, the stream of complaints against the multiple collection of juncans stopped.⁸⁷ The Board of Revenue was entrusted with the implementation of the treaty under a decree of 26th July 1802.⁸⁸ By this, the free use of the port of Masulipatam was granted to the Nizam of Hyderabad with the privilege to establish a commercial factory there. Ships bearing the Nizam's flag were entitled to protection from British warships. The free transit of goods was allowed between the territories of the two parties, for exchanging their produce and manufactures, abolishing the undefined sayer or rahadary or road duties, except the imposition of a 5 per cent. duty on the Hyderabad frontier on articles imported

from the Company's territories and 5 per cent. duty payable to the Company on all articles purchased in Hyderabad for export to the Company's territories. Under the decree, duties were to be collected at Masulipatam or at one or more places, according to the convenience of the merchants of the Nizam's dominions; these conditions were to apply only to traders under both the governments, but not to foreign merchants from other states.⁸⁹

(ii) *Currency and Exchange*

The relative values of coins and their exchange rates in this period were in a great flux and had disastrous consequences for the poor. The shroffs were changing the rates of exchange according to individual needs and the zamindars were demanding from the ryots revenue payments in gold. The consequent distress to the poorer sections of the population continued to increase till it touched the coffers of the state. With the exclusive and increasing demands and agitation of an undisciplined soldiery, the government realised the urgent need for revising the system and wanted to regulate the exchange value of currency and put it on a footing to meet the requirements of the troops in 1800 A.D. and, at the same time, make it less disadvantageous to the Company.⁹⁰

The Military Auditor-General in welcoming the proposed change, pointed out that the existing rate of Rs. 365 to 100 M.P. was highly mischievous and that it should be revised and fixed in Arcot rupees and star pagodas at 350 per 100 pagodas in the Northern Circars. The Governor-In-Council agreed to the proposal and instructed all the Collectors to introduce this exchange rate and to instruct the people in which currency they had to make revenue payments.⁹¹

To eliminate all confusion in public exchange value of the currency, a public notice was published stating that 350 Arcot rupees should be treated as equivalent to 100 star pagodas, with a 10 per cent. difference between Madras pagodas and star pagodas. When this exchange rate was made binding, with the penalty of fine and imprisonment in case of contravention, it was welcomed throughout the Northern Circars.⁹² Each and every collector praised its beneficent effects. If this change had been effected earlier, much distress could have been obviated. Even in Guntur, great distress was prevailing when the previous exchange rate was in vogue, due to its variety and non-availability in transactions even with lambadies, as copper

alone was usually available with the poor.⁹³

In Kakinada the currency in circulation was Madras pagodas.⁹⁴ Silver coins were rare. Zamindars made settlements with the ryots in Madras pagodas and paid them into the treasury. The introduction of silver coins and one anna pieces with not more than 1/16th of the rupee content, went a long way to regulate the currency affairs in the Northern Circars.⁹⁵

(iii) *Transport*

Due to the absence of regular roads and communications, bullock carts and pack animals formed the chief means of conveyance. There was also the unhappy tradition of using unpaid peasant labour. This was continuing from the Moghul times. The troops of the Company while on march dragged the peasants from their fields and forced them to carry their stores, tentage, foodstuffs, etc. over long distances without any payment. Therefore, on hearing of approaching Company's troops, peasants used to leave their fields and run away to escape from them. The Board of Revenue realised that the Company troops continued this practice under the mistaken notion that it was the duty of the villages to supply them free labour. From 1794, they wanted to abolish this practice and entrusted the collectors with the responsibility. The Government of Ft. St. George suggested that collectors, commanding officers and kotwals should fix wage rates in each district and that officers who require labour should arrange to hire it before starting, according to the rates fixed from station to station. The troops on march had to inform the kotwal or commanding officer of their requirements in advance so that he could arrange for them and, if necessary, even pay half the hire charges in advance.⁹⁶ The officers requiring labour were to leave their name, designation, number, rank, address, etc. with the village headman, so that they could, in case of complaints made by the coolies on return, represent to the collector. Also the kotwal had to stand security that the workers do not run away with the goods entrusted with them. If coolies were not readily available, the kotwal was authorised to hire them in advance and keep them ready till the troops came to that station, by paying them 1½ star pagodas or 2½ Madras fanams a day, which was the normal piece-time rate for daily labour. As Madras fanams were not available in plenty north of Ongole, Re. 1 was treated as equivalent to 12 Madras fanams, and a cooly was

to receive 15 dubs per day, in lieu of $2\frac{1}{2}$ Madras fanams. All the troops were advised to desist from resorting to forced free labour. The rate in Masulipatam was 15 dubs per diem and in Guntur 7 dubs, if the distance was 8 coss from station to station.⁹⁷

But, in Kakinada and in zamindary territories, no proper rules were enforced in this respect; and the collectors excused themselves on the plea that they could do nothing to redress the grievances of labour unless they were brought to their notice.

In Vizag and Vizianagaram, palanquin bearers were paid 4 annas for each stage of a journey. The method of recruitment was very unsatisfactory. Those who were hired in places like Bhimlipatam, Vizag and Vizianagaram had first to be collected and kept in choultries till they were sent on work. This made the workers spend their earnings on the subsistence even before the commencement of their work. This difficulty was sought to be overcome by delivering the workers immediately to those needing them, from which period an allowance or batta equal to their daily hire or $1\frac{1}{2}$ fanams at the rate of 12 fanams a day was to be guaranteed and full wages were to be paid from the day work was started to the day of discharge. The palanquin-bearers and the coolies were to get the same batta, within 6 hours of their engagement.⁹⁸

The coolies had to suffer several hardships besides low wages and irregular payment. Whenever they went with the troops, they had to get and carry pots, firewood and straw. There were places where they could easily get them and others where they could not. In some places they were scarce and expensive. Sometimes they could not be procured without payment. It was suggested that all the commanding officers should give a receipt for all that they required to be brought by the coolies and pay them a batta in addition to wages for the days they were engaged.⁹⁹ It was not always easy to procure labourers immediately on demand. The villagers had to be given prior intimation of the requirements of the troops. The troops had to agree to pay 1 fanam per day from the time the labourer was engaged in addition to $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee whether he worked as a palanquin bearer or a coolie and batta for the halting days.

In 1790, palanquin bearers in Chicacole were paid 16 dubs for a stage of journey not exceeding 10 coss and a batta of 3

dubs per day and 1½ dubs for half day if detained. Daily labour rates were for men 6 dubs, women 4 dubs, a boy 3 dubs and for female and male children below 8 years, 2 dubs.¹⁰⁰

In Masulipatam for 10 coss, the hire charge was As. 8 for 20 coss, Re. 1 for 26 coss, Rs. 1-4-0 for 32 coss, Rs. 1-12-0 for 36 coss, Rs. 2-0-0 for 44 coss, Rs. 2-8-0 for 60 coss, Rs. 3-8-0 for 80 coss, Rs. 5 for 100 coss and for 120 coss Rs. 7 (1 coss equal to 2 miles). The rates were somewhat different if the labourers had to go east, north, south or west.¹⁰¹

In Vizag and Vizianagaram for 5 coss palanquin bearers were paid As. 2 while bullock rate was As. 4 and cart-hire was As. 12. For a distance of 9 to 10 coss, coolies and palanquin bearers used to charge As. 4, while bullocks and bullock carts used to be paid As. 8 and Rs. 1-8-0 respectively. For 14 coss palanquin bearers and coolies used to get As. 6 while bullocks and bullock carts As. 10 and Rs. 2. For 18 coss the rates were As. 9, As. 9, As. 13 and Rs. 2-12-0, for 20 coss As. 10, As. 10, As. 14 and Rs. 2-14-0; for 23½ coss As. 12, As. 12, Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 3-14-0; for 30 coss As. 14, As. 14, Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 4-0-0; and for 35 coss Rs. 1-2-0, Rs. 1-2-0, Rs. 1-12-0 and Rs. 5-0-0.¹⁰²

Suggestions were made by the collectors to double the wages and to introduce uniformity in the transport rates throughout the Andhra districts. But the Board of Revenue felt that the existence of fluctuating and varying currencies in the Circars was an insurmountable barrier for such a course.¹⁰³ It was, therefore, felt that each collector should determine the rates suitable for his own district from time to time.¹⁰⁴ This was never done; nor were the rates properly enforced till 1820 when the magistrates were given powers to investigate into all the irregularities regarding the cooly hires.

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PART II : 1802-1865

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

The Village Communities in Andhra occupied an important place by the opening of the 19th century. The villagers lived within their fortified walls, isolated and unconnected with the outside world. Agriculture was their primary occupation. The husbandman gathered adequate harvest furrowing fields with a primitive plough and a pair of bullocks and drawing water from the neighbouring well or stream.¹ The local moneylender supplied him with money and goods on credit whenever he needed. The village karnam assessed his lands and collected revenue while the village magistrate sat in judgment over rural litigation. The zamindars accepted rent in kind and gave fabulous presents to ryots on festive occasions.

The caste system created a natural division of labour in the village. Since the East India Company gained control and power, the Brahmins worked as translators, farmers of salt and land revenue, revenue or administrative officials. Till then, they were either religious heads or teachers. They lived in the centre of the village, the Baniyas living behind them, while the Sudras lived on the outskirts of the village. The artisans, like goldsmiths, coppersmiths, ironsmiths, carpenters and masons were a well-trained, traditionally efficient and unassuming folk. They went from place to place, carrying their tools with them and did their jobs. With the blower behind him, the blacksmith went pitching furnaces at every doorstep, meeting the domestic requirements of the people. The mason, had in his little bag a pair of scissors, a mallet, a hammer and a tin. The carpenter, with his chisel and saw, made the best articles of furniture. The weaver with forked sticks stuck to the ground produced the finest filaments the world had even seen.² The art of printing and dyeing cloth also was highly developed. The beauty and brilliancy of colours and the durability of cloth elicited the admiration of the world.³

The habits of the people were pure and simple. Modern stationery was unknown to them. Palm leaves and quills met the popular needs of writing.⁴ Charles White said, that while

Europeans purchased Indian goods even at the highest price, the natives, irrespective of their financial position, never used the European goods. Even according to the 5th report, "The wealthy took no more interests than the ordinary man, in the English style and goods."⁵ "What the father bought, the son used to throw away. They were extremely reluctant to purchase European goods, not because of high prices, but because of the influence, climate, religion and civil habits of the people and more than all the excellence of their own manufacturers."⁶ The Resident of the Nizam said the same thing. "I did not observe that the Nizam expended any part of his wealth in purchasing articles of European manufacture except such as woollens as were necessary to cover his elephants, camels and horses, the presents which were made to the Nizam at several times. Whenever any precious gifts were taken to the Nizam by the Royal officers, they were sent to the state museum, wherein were already kept similar foreign presents of greatest value and artistic magnificence, sent from Persia, China, France and to this list was joined the English stock."⁷

Tradition carried names, boundaries, family interests and customs unchanged for centuries.⁸ "If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching, reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of charity and hospitality amongst each other and above all, the treatment of the female sex, full of respect, confidence and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people..and if civilisation is to become an article of import, it was said that 'England will gain by the import cargo.'⁹ Thomas Munroe speaking from his personal experience in the Ceded Districts, said that, "women there, were very troublesome tenants as farmers. Ladies from very respectable families used to go to court to debate about the rents, leaving grown-up husbands and sons at home." They used to wear the uncut saree and spin during their leisure. Ornaments, jewels, necklaces, heavy bangles, emeralds, rubies and pearls were their usual decorations. The joint family system prohibited accumulation of wealth in contrast to the English family life, but wasteful expenditure on marriages and social functions was never abated.¹⁰

Next to weaving, Agriculture was the most important occupation. The cultivation of lands with the most primitive imple-

ments roused the curiosity of the foreign visitors. Some, like James Mill, condemned it, as extremely backward while others praised the excellence of the simple methods of agriculture.¹¹ "There were no rice mills to husk the paddy. Either the bullocks trod over the fields or women were engaged to grind the corn."¹² There were in Vizianagar the relics of an excellent irrigation system with aqueducts to divert water for home and palace baths in addition to these diverting water to fields under cultivation. The use of Kudimaramat or voluntary labour for constructing feeders of agriculture was the common practice. But, since the East India Company came into power, these irrigation systems were completely neglected.

Then there was the manufacture of silks, cloth, agricultural implements, leather goods, paper and domestic utensils of brass and copper, mostly in Northern Circars where they were cheaply made and sold. There was a flourishing trade in these goods. Ceded Districts were producing cheap and excellent woolen cumblies which could successfully resist foreign competition. Tanning flourished for some time in Guntur, but it decayed later on. Articles made of ivory, horns, sandalwood, were available in Vizagpatam. There was a well developed iron and steel industry both in the Circars and Ceded Districts. There were about 40 furnaces in Ravanakkapeta alone, in Northern Circars. Iron smelting was an alternate occupation in slack seasons of agriculture and the South Indian ore was considered the best in quality. In Circars, iron was also considered to be the finest for tools and razors. Mr. Snodgrass, an eminent instrument maker of England, said the steel of the Northern Circars was the best he had ever seen.¹² When mining and smelting of iron was unknown even in the west, they were in high excellence here though the methods pursued were crude and inefficient. Mining then meant no more than a grubbing of soil with 4 to 5 feet of digging, which meant enormous waste of ore. The furnace was equally crude and every thing had to depend on weather conditions. In spite of all these defects and deficiencies, the industry was able to satisfy the local needs.

The artisan had no workshop of his own. He was a wandering trader with a tool bag on his back. But, still the society of artisans and their social organisation had everything in it to compare with the European guild system. Many of the industries were organised on a craft and guild basis. Admission to apprenticeship was regulated by birth, capacity, honesty and

knowledge of accounts.¹³ Contributions to the guilds were made monthly or annually either in cash or kind, at a certain percentage of the profits. These guilds exercised a lot of influence. They regulated hours of work, decided social and trade disputes ; in fact they exercised a real control over the workers in every industry.¹⁴

Besides this internal social structure and its industrial character the village had its civil framework too, which gave it a governing body of village elders and officials. The village, geographically viewed resembled a corporation. The Patel looked after the general superintendence of the village, settled the disputes of the inhabitants, attended to police work, besides collecting revenue. The Karanam kept the accounts of the village and all the registers connected with it. The Tallary and the Toti engaged themselves in a wider field of action. Besides these, there were the Boundary man, the Superintendent of tanks and water resources, the Brahmin priest, the school master, the smith and the carpenter, potters, washermen, barbers, cow keepers, doctors, musician, poets and the dancing girls, within the four walls of the village. The villagers had whatever all they required under this simple form of Government : the inhabitants lived thus from time immemorial, not caring who ruled at the centre and not knowing about the rise and fall of kingdoms, so long as their life remained undisturbed. They also did not care who gained or who lost power so long as the internal framework of their village was not dislocated.¹⁵

B. Transition

This self-sufficient village economy could not continue for long due to the impact of new economic and political forces. The continuous influx of Europeans of all types and their indiscriminate behaviour without any judicial checks, the exclusion of natives from high offices and the invasion of Pindari hordes led to a gradual disintegration of these age-old village communities. There was beginning a reorientation of the rural economy.

The world-famous Andhra fabrics too received a severe setback with the imports of cheap millmade imitations from England and with the severe restrictions on their export to the English and European markets. The ad valorem duty on Indian goods for exports was £ 3/6/- and if they were used for home consumption it was still more. The consolidated duty on calicos was £78/6/8 and on muslins it was £3/6/8. Due to their

inability to meet the competition of the English manufactures, the silk and cotton fabrics of Andhra became a rarity in the English markets.¹⁶ The free influx of Englishmen and their irresponsible behaviour towards the natives created very awkward situations. The average Englishman who came here then considered it his prerogative to commit with impunity crimes which he never dared to commit in his home land. And this did not stop inspite of repeated protests by very responsible men. Warren Hastings told the Home Government that "the strength of a Government lies in the affection of the people and any great dissatisfaction leads to the invasion of that authority."¹⁷ Lord Teignmouth declared that without lifting the character of the natives, the influx of Europeans would have a tendency to depreciate their estimate of the general European character.¹⁸ Both Sir John Sydenham and Sir Thomas Munroe told the select committee that "Whether their habits are quiet or not the Englishmen are seldom quiet when they quit England and find themselves amongst easy and unresisting people over whom they can exercise their authority." Munroe pleaded particularly for a cautious selection of the persons who were to be sent to the Ceded Districts. Even the existing judicial checks were inadequate and inefficient. Acts of violence, excluding murder, illegal detention of natives in stocks for the recovery of alleged dues, riotous meetings or violent outrages, illicit punishment of Rattan, on the cultivators and others continued unabated.¹⁹ The office of the Karnam was continued while the patels were replaced by Munsiffs after the recommendations of the Commission of 1816. Panchayats consisting of 5 to 15 members used to settle disputes, each party nominating equal numbers and the village official nominating the rest. The trial by Panchayats in Andhra was as much common as trial by jury in England. The native who had a good cause appeared before the Panchayat, while he, who had a bad cause, sought the decision of the collector or judge, because he knew it was much easier to deceive the latter. Hence Col. Wilks said these Panchayats were admirable instruments of practical decisions.²⁰ But, the English Judges who were later appointed were imperfectly acquainted with the language of the people, their customs and manners. Their Indian ministerial officers were very meagrely paid and therefore very corrupt. Consequently justice was either too often sold to the highest bidder or delayed endlessly.²¹ The Company paid no heed to the suggestion

of Sir Henry Starchy to start courts composed of well paid Hindu and Moslem judges guided by British regulations, to remedy this deplorable state of affairs. On the other hand, they started systematically elbowing out Indians from Administrative posts against the advice of senior administrators who pleaded that, "if we allow them to aspire for higher posts, if we pay them well, if we raise them in their own estimation, they will soon be found fit for any official employment." In preference to the judicial system introduced, Sir Thomas Munroe pleaded for the retention of the old village panchayats as "no judge, however upright or active, was so competent as such a body, to dispense justly, correctly and expeditiously."²² Col. Walker denounced the employment of strangers to the total exclusion of the natives of the country, as the greatest defect of the judicial system, as "this mortifying exclusion stifles talent, humbles family pride and depresses all but the weak and the worthless. The higher class of society considered this a severe injustice and looked upon the British administration as an imposing yoke."²³ The judicial commission presided over by Thomas Munroe proved a sad failure. His endeavour to place the village police under the village heads had been abandoned as the police formed a separate force. His endeavour to invigorate the village panchayats had also failed.²⁴ On the other hand, his suggestion of combining the duties of collector, the magistrate, and the police in the same hands had been perpetuated.²⁵

The incursions of the Pindari hordes created a great confusion. The troops of the Company could not resist these unruly elements or prevent them from plundering and ravaging the Circars and the Ceded Districts. Kistna and Guntur suffered very badly. H.M.S. 'Revolutionaire' was sent to Masulipatam with arms and ammunition to protect the inhabitants there. Guntur got 1300 horses from the Raja of Mysore and 2000 infantry from Hyderabad was kept in readiness. But they were no match to the Pindaries who swept the whole of Deccan as far as Masulipatam in one direction and to the banks of Kistna on the other. They went towards Guntur, Chintalapilly and Amravati shooting the people with booming guns ; whole villages were deserted.²⁶ Some in Inavolu and Guntur braved to resist them and died in defence of their women folk. In Ongole, Nallagonda, Kalahasty, Masulipatam and Pulivendla, the Pindaries carried death and destruction, ravishing women and plundering and murdering the wealthy merchants and the

common folk. Rajahmundry and Peddapuram also suffered the same fate, and the Ceded Districts were no exception.²⁷ In this welter of confusion, the ageold village committees were declining and the prospects of any sound administration appeared remote. From the worst tyranny and misrule of the nawabs, Kurnool came under the authority of the East India Company in 1833. Nothing is known about its social or revenue administration under the Nawabs. There were no rules except the Ruler's will, between him and the ruled, between the taxer and the taxed. The revenue assessment was most arbitrary and the collections most iniquitous.²⁸ No public accounts were ever kept except those by the village officers. The Nawab's Zanana was the only Khajana or treasury where the remittances were kept. The amount to be paid by each village was charged according to the caprice of the Nawab and used to be increased without any ostensible reason. If the demands were exorbitant and people started emigrating, the Nawab used to allure them back with promises of low cowles, but as soon as the crops were ready, the produce was seized without any scruples. Kurnool was in such a deplorable condition when it came under the British.²⁹

Inspite of all this confusion, the Company's charter for trading was once again revived in 1833 though its trade monopoly was abolished. As a matter of fact, England took little interest in India from 1784 to 1834. Upto 1793, public interest in India, particularly in London, was stimulated by the struggle over the India Bill of Fox and Pitt and by the trial of Warren Hastings. On the outbreak of the war with revolutionary France, British attempts were concentrated in Europe. In 1813, the Parliament briefly discussed and then dismissed the Indian affair for another 20 years.... Nevertheless the presence of East India Company members in the House of Commons had important repercussions on the Home Government's India policy.³⁰ The Government was plainly not interested in India from 1807 and a very conscientious man like Hentry St. George Tucker said, "Still I feel most painfully that we are gradually sinking within, though the charter may be revived once again. During this period, the Company made every effort to eliminate the coastal fabrics from the continental markets, to exclude the Indians from high offices substituting them with mediocre English men." This is one of the saddest episodes in the sad financial history of India. Administrators like Holt Mackenzie

admitted that, "they have unfortunately acted on the opposite principle of interfering with everything, including popular institutions, wherever they existed and never attempted to create them, when wanting." Sir John Sullivan, in his evidence before the select committee, said that the Company would have to restore a good deal of territory to the natives on the principles of justice and sound financial economy. Sir John Malcolm, speaking of the Andhra districts, said, "I do not think that our Government benefitted or could benefit either the commercial, the moneied or the agricultural classes. I particularly allude to the tracts near the borders of Kistna."³¹

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12. *Report of the Select Committee on East India Affairs* 1832 : pp. 234, 484 [31]
13. *Revenue Consultations* : Sir Thomas Munroe to Ft. St. George 12-8-1801 [8]; His Evidence before the Select Committee 13-7-1810, pp. 126-27 [19]
14. D. Narayan Rao : *Report on the Cottage Industries in the Madras Presidency*, 1929, p. 20 [14]
15. Heyne's *Report on the Manufacture of Iron in Northern Circars* 15-2-1785, 11-8-1785 [12]
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CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture was the mainstay of the people and the villagers worked on the soil with the belief that it was their own.¹ The village usually had its central residential site with a shed and open space for the cattle and a pond for water. Around this nucleus stretched the cultivated areas and beyond them lay the grazing grounds for cattle and wood for fuel.² Though the ancient village autonomy was gradually disappearing due to the introduction of the local civil and criminal courts, the village community feeling and interest continued to a certain extent.³ The differences in crop production in the different districts were due to the differences in soil, climate and fertility. Due to the excellent canal, river and tank irrigation and an early and usually favourable monsoon, the Circars used to grow rice, chillies, turmeric, dals, sugarcane and most of the vegetables and fruits. The Ceded Districts, with their barren ferruginous clay, a frequently unfavourable monsoon and extreme paucity of irrigation works, grew dry crops like cotton, groundnuts and very rarely rice and sugarcane.⁴ Nellore and Guntur, with their moist and hilly climate, grew excellent garden pastures fit for rearing cattle on the Nallamalais and Erramalais of Kurnool. The methods of cultivation and the implements used were almost the same in all the districts. The peasants usually owned their ploughs and cattle. For instance in 1837, in the Circars, the cost of growing wet crops including the cost of ploughs, cattle, seeds, manure, weeding and removing spoiled plants, crushing and thrashing the grains as well as the village fees in kind used to come to Rs. 90-10-0 per putty of land, while the produce of land was valued at Rs. 96-0-0, thus leaving the peasants in loss. Cotton cultivation alone proved profitable in the Circars, like Ganjam, Vizag, Masulipatam; Rajahmundry and Guntur, where the profits ranged from Rs. 10, Rs. 12-8-0, Rs. 8-11-0, Rs. 8-8-0 to Rs. 1-10-0.⁵

Nellore, Ongole and Guntur were famous for their breed of cattle. The manuscript records of the times are replete with detailed village wise census of the live-stock. Milch cows were daily yielding 18 quarters of milk, in addition to the rearing of a calf. The breed was 15 to 18 hands in height costing between

Rs. 150 to Rs. 300. Bullocks of good size usually drew weight upto 1,500 to 2,000 lbs., and the cost between Rs. 150 to Rs. 300. If they were taken outside, they used to degenerate.⁶ Guntur, Ongole, Nellore and Kistna were also well-known cattle breeding centres, the Nellore breed being the best of all. It was in greater demand even in Hyderabad, compared to the other breeds. In the course of half a century, the price of the cattle came down to Rs. 70 to Rs. 140 a pair. Cattle dealers used to visit Palnad, Guntur and Ongole to purchase the cattle for sale in the adjacent territories.⁷ The cattle in the other districts were weak, poor and stunted. In Masulipatam, the breed was so poor as to sell only at Rs. 15. The Ceded Districts depended for their supply on Nellore. The pastures that existed in Nellore and Palnad had a great reputation as well-known breeding grounds. But, the Ceded Districts had no grazing grounds. Bad housing, bad sanitation, insufficient food and an impoverished life characterised the economic life of the average Andhra ryot. Most of the peasants had no shelter and food for themselves and sent the cattle to the Nallamalais and the Sriharikota jungles for grazing. The pullari tax (grazing fees) was usually Re. 1-0-0 per head for season. A charge of As. 8 to Re. 1 per herdsman and a plot of land where 200 cattle grazed brought about Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 to the owner.⁸ The hilly slopes yielded good revenue ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 annually to the owners. The scarcity of pastures in other parts of Andhra made the peasants keep their cattle alive on herbs and grains. In good years, the cattle lived, but in bad years, the weak ones died of starvation. When rains came and barren lands got carpeted with rank luxurious herbage, the cattle ate and overfed themselves and millions died of one form of disease or another.⁹

A cattle survey conducted by Sir Thomas Munroe, revealed an increase in the number of cattle which, according to him, was due to the return of cattle from Mysore and Hyderabad. The black cattle were 11,98,613, while the buffaloes were 4,93,906. The number of sheep and goats was 11,47,492 and 6,94,643.¹⁰

Besides this rich cattle wealth, the Ceded Districts used to grow cotton, indigo, sugar and jaggery for export. Indigo exports paid a duty of St. pag. 1,05,000 while indigo that escaped duty was worth another St. pag. 20,000. By 1812, out of 6 million acres in the Ceded Districts, only one-sixth was fit for cultivation, while the waste that was in cultivation for the previous twenty years was 21,33,363 acres and the waste that was never

cultivated was 41,29,953 acres. By the time Munroe left in 1807, the land revenue was increased by 50 per cent.¹¹ Immediately after his departure, Bellary, Adoni, Gooty and Rayadurga were hit by a serious famine.¹² Jowari and cotton crops failed and many people migrated to Mysore. Though the government promised to protect the lives and the property of the people and their cattle, they were too anxious to guard themselves from any unfounded claims for remissions of land revenue. The Company was equally suspicious about the recommendations of the Collectors of Bellary, Cuddapah and Kodikonda to reduce the impossibly heavy exactions.¹³ The large-scale migrations of ryots to Mysore were left unchecked on the plea that there was no use in tying down people, when they could go and make a living elsewhere.¹⁴ It was evident that there was no attraction for the ryots to bind themselves to their impoverished fields. The Company insisted on collecting maximum revenue, consistent with the welfare of the people. But whether or not the latter objective were possible, the Collectors were strictly instructed to mind the first. After the expiry of the first triennial leases, village leases were again introduced in the Ceded Districts.¹⁵ Even if uncertain seasons and lack of irrigation facilities made revenue defalcations a regular feature, the Board of Revenue continued to insist on the maximum assessment, irrespective of the consequences on the conditions of the ryots.¹⁶ Villagers as a body had to agree to the assessment even when they were impossibly heavy. They were bid by speculators. The renters were ruined, the agriculturists were impoverished and the villages were returned one by one to the government. The Collector of Cuddapah told the Board of Revenue, that "Our system of revenue management is beneficial to the richer rycts. The case is different with the poor. The ryots are in the hands of merchants more than perhaps you are prepared to hear, they are too poor to make them keep to cultivation with takkavi when they have made such extraordinary losses."¹⁷ Sir Thomas Munroe himself was compelled to recommend in 1820 revenue remissions ranging from 25 per cent. to 33-1/3 per cent. But the Revenue Board did not agree though they realised the justice of his recommendations, because they were afraid of the threat of Home Government to reduce the establishment expenditure unless they got a remittance of one million sterling annually from these parts.

The condition of the ryots in the Northern Circars was in

no way better. On an average, the costs and the profits of a ryot in Kistna District were as follows : The value of the gross produce was Rs. 160 while government assessment came to Rs. 80, taxes Rs. 27-3-0, cultivation expenses Rs. 42-8-0, leaving him a margin of Rs. 10-5-0. Agriculture was not able to provide a full sustenance to him without the labour of his wife and children and the proceeds of his own part-time occupations like handloom weaving or cattle breeding as in Nellore.¹⁸

As the prospects of agriculture were so disappointing, the Company started the plantation of topes, because of their general utility and convenience to wayfarers and as a means of providing timber.¹⁹ But even these were very heavily assessed. Ganjam had mango, tamarind, areca, date, lime, orange, besides timber types of several varieties.²⁰ Underneath the trees were cultivated ginger, sago, chillies, onions, cocoanuts and other roots yielding a revenue of Rs. 15,000 annually. In Vizag, the produce of the topes used to be farmed out.²¹ In Rajahmundry, the number of topes was ample, but timber was scarce. Trees like mango, banana, figs were grown in abundance, but the revenue assessments were very oppressive.²² In Masulipatam, as the soil was not favourable to grow anything except the palmyra, the Collector suggested some inducements like the (i) reduction in assessments, (ii) one-fourth assessment for private plantations, (iii) conversion of old plantation lands for cultivation, and (iv) control and prevention of damage to crops. As expected, the Company did not agree to any of these suggestions.²³ Ceded Districts like Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary were not enthusiastic as even the private lands utilised for topes did not escape the heavy exactions. In course of time, repeated insistence on plantations failed to enthuse even the other districts like Nellore, Vizag, Guntur and Masulipatam.²⁴

Then, the Company thought of agricultural exhibitions and prize distribution schemes to encourage the culture of commercial crops. In spite of the very poor response from the peasants for these new innovations, the Company began to hold undeterred some exhibitions at Ellore and Rajahmundry, where indigo, cotton, sugarcane, tobacco, farming materials, milch cattle and tanned leather used to be displayed. The testimony of the contemporary collectors reveal that these manifestations of interest in agricultural development did not rouse the enthusiasm of the downtrodden peasants.²⁵

By 1850, the attempts of the Company to grow commercial

crops bore some fruit. The value of indigo exports from Ceded Districts came to Rs. 4,37,500 while exports from Cuddapah alone came to Rs. 13,75,182. Cultivation of sugarcane was also increased while jaggery exports amounted to Rs. 11 lakhs by 1851.²⁶ But the ryots of Bellary had usually to suffer several disadvantages like the fall in prices, irksome incidence of land revenue and lack of any facilities like subsoil water as in Cuddapah. As the saleable value of land was very low, there was a tendency to reduce the farm size. Substantial ryots who were formerly able to plough back their profits were mortgaging their lands unable to meet the revenue demand. The number of pattaholders increased, but a majority of them were ill-clad and poorly fed. On Munroe's own testimony, the ryots of the Ceded Districts were the poorest of the Company's subjects. Only 17 per cent. were termed to be in good condition, able to pay their shist, 49 per cent. were obliged to mortgage crop to borrow money and 34 per cent. to sell their crops to pay the shist.

Still the Company persisted in its efforts to grow commercial crops in the Andhra Districts. Cotton, sugarcane, indigo, mulberry and sheep for wool received its attention.

Cotton : Production of cotton was inadequate even to meet the internal demand of the handloom weavers who had to depend upon imports from Madhya Pradesh and Berar. The incursions of the Pindari hordes, the lack of safety on roads and the political uncertainty made the imports of cotton less frequent and more costly. In Ganjam, the prices rose from Rs. 70 to Rs. 140 a candy and even at that rate it was not usually available.²⁷ Vizag could get its quota of 900 candies from Chanda and Nagpur at Rs. 90 a candy, but, it could not draw its usual supplies of 600 candies from Bellamkonda, Inakonda and Palnad to keep its cotton weaving investments going. Ingeram had also failed to get its usual quota of 1,200 to 1,500 candies from Chanda and Nagpur regularly via Yernagudem which was a great commercial centre then. These circumstances induced the Company to investigate into the means of encouraging the incoming of Lambadies, who carried cotton, besides finding out the possibilities of growing adequate cotton in Andhra itself. But the Circars did not present a hopeful picture of cotton cultivation. Its growth was not popular in Ganjam except in a few waste lands freed from jungles and even they had to be left fallow for the next year as the same crop could not be grown again.²⁸ Vizag

was not much interested in its growth as it meant a great care and manured soil, with uncertain prospects due to uncertainty or superabundance of rain.³⁹ Rajahmundry could not much extend the existing acreage because of the inundations of the Godavary.⁴⁰ Masulipatam produced good quality crop, but its ruling low price of Pagodas 5 a candy did not give any incentive for further cultivation.⁴¹ Guntur and Palnad were also not keen as the price was too low.⁴² In Nellore, it was grown in a few places like Doovapour and Bodlapoody as neither the climate nor the soil was favourable for its cultivation. Ongole mixed it with other crops. Only the Ceded Districts could offer better opportunities. In Cuddapah, it was sown in every taluka.⁴³ Out of 16 lakhs of dry land, one-fifth was under cotton. But, even here, only the substantial ryots grew it, while the poorer ones gave preference to cattle and spared only one-fourth or one-third of their land for cotton. Bellary was also suitable for extension of cotton cultivation by offering a better price. But foodgrains for subsistence were grown in all the districts.⁴⁴

The offer of additional inducements for growing cotton by the Company did not increase its growth very much. While Ganjam Collector suggested a trial by granting takkavi loans in proportion to land taken under cultivation, the Vizag Collector felt this would not be of any use in Vizag, as the expenses of hire, rent and cooly charges would not be compensated by the price it would fetch.^{45,46} The Collectors of Rajahmundry⁴⁷, Nellore and Masulipatam had no particular attraction to the culture of cotton in their jurisdiction.⁴⁸ While the Collector of Guntur suggested offer of higher prices, grant of takkavi loans and guarantee of markets, the Collector of Cuddapah said these incentives would not mean much to the ryots in his area as the land tax was the same. The cotton crop of Rajahmundry was sold at Dwarapudy, Tuni and Jagannaikapuram markets while that of Cuddapah went to Mysore and the Carnatic. In the Ceded Districts, the export of cotton was mainly from the inam lands which were extensive.⁴⁹ Cotton cultivation increased upto 2,09,577 acres in Bellary and 79,442 acres in Cuddapah, while there was no appreciable increase in Guntur. The costs of cultivation also varied from place to place, the highest being MP 1.3.87 in Tinnivelly and 11 pies per acre in Guntur inclusive of land assessment. As such, there was no significant increase in other districts, except for occasional exports from Cuddapah, Bellary, Kurnool and Guntur by 1850.⁵⁰ Cotton gins

were brought from Dharwar and Coimbatore to teach the people cotton ginning as the cotton acreage increased in Bellary. Bourbone and New Orleans cotton were tried in Kurnool and Cuddapah. Forty villages in Bellary had sown these seeds.

Sugar : Seeds of Bourbone cotton and Mauritius sugarcane were distributed to all the Andhra districts, but the experiments failed in Ganjam, Vizag, Guntur and Cuddapah. Guntur was reluctant to grow Mauritius sugarcane, while the growth of Bourbone cotton was considered uneconomic in Cuddapah.⁴¹ The Rajahmundry Collector promised to try Mauritius sugarcane by inducement of Revenue reduction to the cultivators, irrespective of their opposition for its culture as it was a precarious luxury to be tried, requiring constant care, good tropical climate and excellent irrigation which they could ill-afford. In spite of the lack of any enthusiasm for these new crops, the Company distributed to all the Collectors 800 to 1,000 Mauritius sugarcanes through the Horticultural Society and asked them to report on the quantity of the land covered, the method of cultivation, the expenses incurred compared to the native system, the quality of the sugar obtained from it and the progress of manufacture.⁴²

Sugar : Seeds of Bourbone cotton and Mauritius sugarcane for export, Guntur, Vizag, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Rajahmundry depended for their consumption on imports. Ganjam was exporting jaggery, sugar and sugarcandy to Cuttack and Poonarca at prices varying from Rs. 13-12-0 to Rs. 15-0-0, Rs. 16-0-0 to Rs. 10-0-0 and Rs. 102-4-0 to Rs. 110-0-0.⁴³ Guntur and Kurnool were importing sugar from Chinaganjam at Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 a candy or from Bellary, Punganoor, Mortome and Chekkore at Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 ; with a view to increasing internal production, the foreign imports were prevented. Bellary which was a border district was not allowed to import either from Hyderabad, Mysore or Punganoor.⁴⁴ Peddapuram was producing coarse sugar like jaggery which was sold at Re. 1-4-0 per maund of 25 lbs. But no sugar exports were possible from any of the districts like Kurnool, Guntur, Vizag and Ganjam.⁴⁵ By 1846, Kurnool was producing 120 maunds of gur.⁴⁶ Cuddapah became a great gur and jaggery centre.⁴⁷ Average consumption per head in Punganoor, Madanapally and Gurramkonda was calculated to be 18 seers, 9 lbs. and 60 ozs., at Pulivendla and Rayachoty 13½ seers, while in the remaining talukas it was estimated to be 9 seers, 4 lbs. and 11 ozs. The consumption in other

places had also increased. The total quality produced and consumed in Cuddapah was 12,52,322 and 3,45,032 maunds respectively. The surplus of 9,07,290 maunds was exported. The average consumption per head for a population of 11,90,472 appeared to be lbs. 7-2-4.⁴⁸ In Ganjam, while the production was 1,50,000 maunds, the population was 6,00,000 ; average *per capita* consumption came to 6 lbs. per head.⁴⁹

Indigo : In Ceded Districts, Cuddapah and Kurnool used to produce a lot of indigo and export to Madras, Hyderabad, Dharwar, Bombay and Gudvel. This trade was hampered by lack of good roads. The ryots used to dread the journey to Madras on bullock carts. They objected to their carts carrying the shipments to England. The small number of carts, the heavy rate of exchange, together with the small load that could be carried on account of the bad roads acted as deterrents even for the export of oilseeds to the seaports for shipment abroad. While 50 to 55 maunds was the usual weight for a cart in Cuddapah, not more than 40 maunds was always carried. While the rate per mile was As. 10 in the south, here the rate varied from As. 12 to Re. 1. The rate from Cuddapah to Madras was from Rs. 20 to Rs. 24, which was triple the rate per mile in the south.

In Kurnool, indigo production was treble from 1843 to 1846 raising it from 1,396-13-0 maunds to 3,192-17-0 maunds and the price rose from Rs. 18 per maund to Rs. 25 per maund.⁵⁰ While only 475 maunds were used in the district, 8,551 maunds were sent to Hyderabad, Bombay, Dharwar, Cuddapah and Madras for use there and for onward transmission to Europe.

Marino sheep were grown in Guntur, Bellary and other parts, but, after some time, the effort was discontinued.

As this forceful diversion of agriculture from foodcrops to less attractive commercial crops seriously hit the fortunes of the agriculturists, they migrated in large numbers to Mauritius for work. Though many went from the Ceded Districts to Northern Circars, washermen, fishermen, barbers, etc., were unable to find work. Some were reduced to labourers in the ports of Coconada, Coringa, Vizag, working as coolies in the ports, before they could embark to Rangoon, Malaya or Mauritius for work, to save themselves and their families from starvation and death. The situation became extremely grave as the cottage industries like the manufacture of muslins at Chicacole and silks at Berhampore fast declined and became stories of the past.⁵¹ Among the exportable produce, the inimitable palem-

pores and chintzes of Circars were dwindling in importance, compared to the edible grains, horse gram, Bengalgram, oilseeds, gum, lac, ghee, wheat, sugarcane, indigo and salt. Salt was the bulkiest article amounting to 3½ lakhs per year.⁵² Even Vizag was losing its skill in handicrafts like silver and ivory ware, buffaloe horns, jewels and other articles of luxury, while artisans reduced to the state of labourers, had no alternative but to leave for places like Mauritius for work.⁵³ In Cuddapah and Bellary, tamarind and mango groves became more common than foodgrain crops. Kurnool, on the banks of Tungabhadra, was more famous for its carpets, calicoes, bronze and brass vessels, iron, utensils, indigo and arrack than for agriculture.⁵⁴ All this glory was gradually disappearing.

Famine and famine policy

A series of famines, fall in agricultural prices and low profits in cultivation made the general condition of the agriculturist in Andhra extremely miserable.

From 1805 to 1807, there was a wide spread failure of crops in the Circars and Ceded Districts. The earlier plans of government to purchase and sell grain on State account to mitigate distress were soon abandoned in favour of a policy of *laissez faire*.⁵⁵ While the ryots in the Ceded Districts were exporting their foodgrains to obtain high prices and enable them to pay the excessively heavy land revenue, those in the Circars remained idle on the strength of their short-lived prosperity.⁵⁶ While the merchants in Nellore, Guntur, Masulipatam and Ceded Districts were hoarding or exporting the food grains, thereby creating an artificial scarcity and high prices, Munroe's main anxiety did not go beyond collecting as much revenue as possible.⁵⁷ No programme of public works was envisaged, excepting some spasmodic efforts of the Collectors here and there, on the peculiar plea that it would encourage idleness and slacken individual effort to meet the crisis.⁵⁸ Nor was attention given to the pleas for reduction of land revenue, or the preservation of life and prosperity.⁵⁹ The prices of foodstuffs were never controlled and all arrangements were made for their proper distribution.

Even the disastrous famine of 1811 or the Nellore famine, as it was called, did not change the Company's policy. They thought it best not to interfere with the hoarding and profiteering of foodgrains by the local merchants. According to them, high prices, although productive of shifting inconvenience, were

as salutary and necessary for public safety as putting the crew of a ship on a short allowance when scarcity of water or food was expected.⁶⁰ They considered the requests of the several Collectors for State intervention to sell food grains at cheaper prices by strict official supervision as arbitrary exercise of power, which might produce injurious effects, and, therefore, left it to be straightened by the laws of market operations.⁶¹

The draught of 1823 was more far-reaching and disastrous in effects in Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, Vizag, Guntur and Nellore. Free imports of food stuffs were allowed and a bounty was offered for imports of rice from Malabar and Bengal. By 1824, prices shot up to unprecedented heights everywhere. Public works were opened in Guntur, Nellore and Hyderabad, for the construction of roads, buildings and bridges, paying labour partly in cash and partly in kind. The port of Ongarajapatnam was aided with a canal to carry 2,000 candies of paddy, 1,000 candies of chillies, 50 to 60 boats of firewood and some turmeric. High roads from Pennar to Kodavalur and Nellore to Madras were repaired. Village centres were reconstructed. This widespread employment saw the famine-stricken population out of trouble by the end of 1824.

But the famine of 1833 was the worst of its type. Cultivation completely failed and prices shot up to peak levels.⁶² In Guntur, the agriculturists lost their cattle. They were entirely destitute and left their villages in search of food elsewhere. Cattle died for want of fodder and water. Cholera spread rapidly and killed many more. Incapacitated persons were on doles ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 100, and paupers numbered 607 in Nellore, 583 in Chittoor, 73 in Masulipatam, 244 in Guntur and 3 in Rajahmundry. Many districts were engaged in public works like building roads, tanks, reservoirs and irrigation works.

In Guntur, paddy sold at $13\frac{1}{2}$ seers a rupee. Funds from government and public and private charity organisations were spent for feeding 998 persons and more daily. Deteriorating conditions in the Circars and Ceded Districts drove large numbers to Madras, where 70,000 persons per day had to be fed gratis till they could be absorbed in public works. Relief expenditure came to $3\frac{1}{4}$ million sterling. The decrease in revenue was 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, loss from sea customs Rs. 1,81,000, on salt Rs. 1,41,000, and Rs. 32,600 on stamps. In all, it cost the government about 52 lakhs. As Guntur was the worst sufferer, it was called the Guntur Famine. Opening of public works, charity kitchens,

pauper depots, and provision of public and private relief helped to mitigate the distress. The Public Works Commission in 1852 estimated the total loss of land revenue from 1831 to 1832 at Rs. 77½ lakhs and diminution of profits due to failure of crops at Rs. 116 lakhs and the loss of sheep and cattle at Rs. 18 lakhs. The total loss from famine was estimated at 2½ million sterling.⁶⁴

Once again, in 1839, crops failed throughout the Andhra districts. Rajahmundry, Bellary, Vizag and Masulipatam were more seriously hit with shortage of foodgrains. Provision of public and private charity and opening of public works did not effectively meet the challenge. Rajahmundry could not feed more than 15,000 starving people daily at an expense of Rs. 500, even by importing 240 garces of rice worth Rs. 22,000.⁶⁵ The crisis was far too severe. In Vizag, 4,280 souls were put on public works at a monthly expenditure of Rs. 2,856.⁶⁶ Even ryots with land assessment of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 were seeking work at the rate of ¼ annas per day. Inspite of Rs. 2 lakhs worth of food imports from Ganjam and Bengal, Masulipatam could not adequately feed its population. It took time for the people to recover from the successive doses of help by way of public works, doles, free imports of food grains, public and private charity, including public kitchens. 1853 saw another disastrous famine in the Ceded Districts. Failure of crops and the loss of subsidiary occupations made the opening of public works the only salvation in due course for large numbers ranging from 10,000 to 1,60,000 persons. The intensity of the famine necessitated the appointment of a special Collector.⁶⁷ By 1854, entire villages were strewn with bones of cattle. In Bellary alone 25,000 cattle died and in other places deaths exceeded four-fifths of the existing stock. In Vizag, coarse rice, natcheni and guntalu were grown as water was available. Masulipatam had a very poor crop as the Kistna inundated the nurseries and caused breaches in tanks. Even Rajahmundry and Kistna could not rescue Guntur as the food required was 28,000 candies for the population of 5,25,000 while all the lands under cultivation did not yield more than 20,000 candies. Men and materials were cheaply transported on cargo boats on the Godavary and the Kistna as transport by land was not only slow but uncertain and hazardous due to the absence of proper roads. Bullocks were the only means of land transport upto the sea ports and rivers, but this was very costly. In Nellore, the ryots took precautions to conceal as much grain as possible. In

Rajahmundry, there was no dearth of food stuffs, but the prices rose enormously making the rich richer and the poor poorer. But the rising prices in Cuddapah and Kurnool were to some extent offset by the imports of foodgrains while cattle were sent to Nallamalais for grazing. Only 13 per cent. of the population in Bellary had food, while the remaining 87 per cent. had to starve. As even the 13 per cent. had only stocks for 1½ months, prices of food stuffs like raguloo, sajjaloo, jonnalu and rice rose enormously. Large numbers died of starvation while those employed on public works were paid at the rate of As. 2 per man and As. 1½ per woman or child. A road of 234 miles was laid down at an expense of Rs. 4,73,300 while the loss from revenue collections was Rs. 25,75,000. The overhead charges came to Rs. 2 per head of the population of 1,20,000. In 1864-68, there was another draught in Ganjam and Bellary when food stuffs were sold at 12 seers a rupee. Merchants began exporting foodgrains for fear of being looted or compelled to sell at lower rates. Cooked food had to be distributed to the starving millions in public kitchens. But, some preferred to starve and die rather than go to the rude public kitchens, while some sailed to Mauritius in search of employment. There was large scale looting, robbery and indiscriminate slaughter of animals. Eleven thousand persons died in Ganjam alone. In Bellary, the death rate was 4 per cent. against the Presidency average of 1.83 per cent. For Ganjam and Bellary alone the famine expenditure was Rs. 6½ lakhs which came to Rs. 3-8-0 per head per mensem. Inspite of all this sad experience, there was no planned famine policy, although suggestions were made for protective and productive irrigation works, buying and selling of food grains on government account and ensuring their fair prices and equitable distribution. Instead, the starving millions were left to the tender mercies of the profiteer. The trading community which had anything but the welfare of the community at heart exploited the situation on each occasion, while the Company authorities took every possible precaution to see that there was no measurable default in payment of revenue, for which they did not hesitate to use even torture.⁶⁸

Use of Torture in Revenue Collection

Barbarous and inhuman methods of torture, like keeping a man in the sun, preventing him from going for meals or calls of nature, confinement, preventing his cattle from going to pasture, quartering peons on him, tying him in bent position,

squeezing and crossing the fingers, pinching, slapping and giving blows, turning the ears, making a man sit with brickbats behind his knees, striking two defaulters' heads, putting a low caste man on their heads or on the back, tying defaulters by the back of their hair to the tree, tying the hair to a donkey's tail or buffaloe's tail, placing a necklace of bones or other degrading or disgusting material around his neck, to mention only a few, were some of the most abhorrent ones adopted by the state to collect revenue from the poverty-stricken ryots. Unfavourable reports of these atrocious methods reached the British Islands. Mr. Blacket, an M.P. from New Castle, protested in the House of Commons and demanded a public enquiry into these monstrosities.⁶⁹ John Bright, with his powerful eloquence, condemned the British regime for this monstrous treatment of the Madras cultivator and roused a great protest both in the Parliament and the press.⁷⁰ The British Government, so far reluctant to move in the path of reform, was roused to indignation and forced to appoint a committee with Eliot, a Madras Judge of the Small Causes Court, North, a Madras Barrister and Stokes, a prominent supporter of ryotwary system as members, to investigate and report on the nature of the grievances of the Andhra ryots.⁷¹ These issues did not merit any consideration from the Government of Madras. They looked upon them with utmost complacency, because "the grievances were almost *mamooli* i.e. usual" and, then such ill-treatment was made out only to the poorer ryots, who could not complain both due to their timidity and ignorance. But, when once the Committee was appointed, the Governor-General-In-Council felt that all allegations which had been placed before the Parliament and which were injurious to the reputation of British administration, should be thoroughly probed into and if found correct, should be denied emphatically and authoritatively, and efforts made to stop all practices contrary to law and the interests of the Company. Repeated attacks in the British Parliament and the press made the Company rulers sick with shame and anxiety.⁷²

Irrespective of whether tax or rent was moderate or otherwise, the ryots had to pay it or face the torture. The company Government never realised the inhumanity of this policy, till they were openly and publicly charged with the grossest misuse of power in exacting exorbitant revenue.⁷³ The intensity of torture was growing in alarming proportions and became a

universal feature of revenue collection throughout the length and breadth of Madras. The number of cases reported from Madras, Ganjam, Vizag, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Guntur, Nellore, Cuddapah, Bellary and Kurnool were 11, 16, 22, 45, 11, 84, 127 and 14 respectively. If the higher officials did not use force, they connived at their servants using it who in turn abused their powers by pocketing the revenues as in the instances that came to light in Ganjam.⁷⁴ A contemporary witness at Calingapatnam also bore witness to the existence of torture. But he said the people never thought it was authorised by the government. The principal Amin of the Northern Circars bore witness to the existence of torture during the 15 years of his stay there, but defended it as an inevitable accompaniment of revenue collection.

Rajahmundry alone was exceptionally fortunate because of its nearness to the Company's territories, its good irrigation facilities and light assessments. But, even there, instances of torture were not rare.⁷⁵ An engineer, engaged in the engineering works on the Godavary, had spoken of the torture practised by the tahsildar, while holding the cutchery in the choultry with peons, flogging the peasant night after night till he paid the kists. As an eyewitness, he also spoke of the beating of ryots, in Kota Ramachandrapuram, Kaleru, where heavy stones, were kept on the neck of the ryots. In Kakaraparoo and Chellor, they were whipped or sometimes locked up and beaten as in Kadiam. In every village, lands which the wealthier ryots would not cultivate were thrust on the poor ones promising takkavi with a view to exacting heavy revenue. In vain did a ryot protest, he had no cattle, no ploughs or implements. If he refused, a flogging in the cutchery sent him down to the fields. He occasionally spent the loans on food as he was too poor. If there was water for irrigation, the richer ryot helped himself, while the crops of the poorer ones withered and died. As he could not earn his livelihood, he went and worked as a cooly for days and when he returned he found his crops either eaten away by insects or stolen by thieves.⁷⁶ The yield of the field was hardly more than the shist and if the crops failed, he had to sell his cattle or plough to pay the shist.⁷⁷ In Masulipatam, Chiratas were applied to the hands of the ryots, who could not pay their shists and they were paraded before their enemy's houses for humiliation.⁷⁸ In Guntur, torture was by beating, abusing and confining. In Northern Circars, the administrative officials

indulged in excesses and the system called for a thorough overhauling. In Nellore, it became a thorough custom and there were innumerable instances to quote.⁷⁹ Even in the Ceded Districts, the system was notoriously universal, though the zamindars and the muthadars pleaded complete ignorance when questioned. The only remedy was a great reduction in land rent which they were not prepared to allow. In Bellary too, all sorts of intimidation were practised to extract the exorbitant land revenue. Inspite of all this evidence, the Committee submitted a very careful and guarded report, though it found the practice of torture to be widely prevalent and knew that the ignorant ryots had no redress. Still it was its considered opinion that the government never authorised, tolerated or countenanced such ill-treatment of the ryots.

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CHAPTER III

LAND TENURES

The permanent settlement in the Northern Circars was introduced in 1802, on the twin principles of "fixity of tenure and fixity of rent", to establish credit and augment general prosperity.¹ But the respective rights of the ryot and zamindar were not made clear. Abundant confusion in this matter, therefore, led to much mischief. In this connection, Hodgson said that no zamindar could enhance rent at his will or pleasure, for no custom, law or usage allowed him the right to do so, because even the government could not be the absolute owner of land.² Sir Thomas Munroe said, "The ryot divided with the Government all the rights of the land. Whatever is not reserved by the Government belongs to him. He is not a tenant at will or for a term of years. He is not removable, because another pays more."³ Still, as the zamindars continued to enhance the rents at their pleasure with no protection to the ryots under them, the select committee in 1817 complained that "the zamindars were considered *de facto* proprietors." Still the Company did not trouble itself to enter into any strict examination of the rights of the ryots.⁴

Ganjam and Vizag were the strongholds of unruly zamindars. The Web and Alexander Committee reported on the introduction of permanent settlement in Vizag, Palakonda, Chemudu, Kurupam, Bobbili, Mursingi, Sangamvalasa, Salur, Toda, Golkonda, Madgola, Andra, Kasipuram, Jaipur, Sarvapalli, etc. by 1805.⁵ It also found the chiefs and councils very corrupt. "The Rajahs were indolent, arrogant, ignorant, superstitious; yet they considered themselves more as titular chiefs than crown subjects and were the authors of the worst exploitation. They most unceremoniously set aside the permanent settlement. Their discontent and disaffection were growing, an illegitimate son always contesting for the succession of a leading Bandit."⁶ In 1836, the Russel Commission, under Sir George Russel and Sir Frederik Adams, which toured the Northern Circars to enquire into the uprisings had also commented on the crafty and greedy zamindars who lived by rapine and plunder, extracting heavy sums from the wretched peasantry through their villainous bands of agents, and threw the revenue accounts into a hopeless

confusion. No accounts of any sort were ever maintained. Unable to suggest any measure to control these unruly zamindars, they only suggested an inglorious acquiescence.⁷ These disturbances continued unabated upto the sixties. Zamindaries like Jeyapore and Vizianagar ignored the existence of a paramount power in the country. The other zamindars too lived like grand Moghuls, purchasing elephants, horses, shawls, amounting to Rs. 70,000 to Rs. 80,000 annually, throwing the financial system into the worst confusion.⁸ Renewed efforts were made in vain by the British police force upto 1865 to introduce ordered administration in the Northern Circars. The Raja of Vizianagar was made a Maharaja from 11th March 1864. The Board of Revenue suggested the creation of proprietary estates yielding revenue of 1000 to 5000 st. pag. in Rajahmundry and Peddapuram, making those zamindars and muthadars directly responsible for the payment of the permanent settlement rents.⁹ The Governor-General, endorsing these recommendations ordered the annihilation of their force, reduction of their sibundy and guarantee of protection of the ryots.¹⁰ The estates in Pithapuram and Peddapuram were sold in public auction to the highest bidder, subject, of course, to the terms of the tenure.¹¹ Assessments included revenue derived from extra source like Akbari, salt, sayer, together with land rent, to be paid by the zamindar. Usually, it amounted to two-thirds of the gross annual collection, calculated on the basis of collections in the past eight to thirteen years, and one-third of this was remitted to the zamindar to meet his expenses.¹²

At the time of the permanent settlement, Rajahmundry consisted of 13 zamindaries, and two independent zamindary families of Kalidindi and Madanapalli. The rest were newly created proprietary zamindaries in which were to be seen nine government villages divided into 26 proprietary estates. Though, for the first ten years, the zamindars were allowed an abatement on the fixed assessments, to what extent they passed it on to the ryot was not exactly known. The inherent defects of the administrative machinery, the incapacity of those who were to manage and the impossibility of heavy assessments ruined several zamindars and many had to sell their estates in lieu of arrears."¹³ After 17 years of the introduction of permanent settlement, many were the estates which were lapsing to the government for arrears of land revenue.¹³ The first lapse was in 1813; and thereafter, villages after villages fell under government

control, increasing from 10 villages in 1813 to 59 in 1817, 153 in 1830, 361 in 1840, 58 in 1844 and 876 in 1851. Sir Thomas Munro, after a tour of Northern Circars testified that this system contributed to the worsening of the position of the ryot. He said, "Our system in Circars was one of forbearance and we are obliged to connive at irregularities which could not be tolerated in other provinces, lest we should involve ourselves in a petty warfare with the zamindars. A zamindar once ousted should never be restored, whatever be the trouble the retention of his zamindary meant."¹⁴ Thus misrule and mal-administration, anarchy and tyranny became the watchwords of revenue administration in Northern Circars. Besides, there was always a natural calamity like the famine in 1833, cyclone in 1839 and a series of lean years from 1831 to 1841. Henry Montgomery, who was sent by the Board of Revenue to enquire into the impoverished state of agriculture and fall in prices, found that frequent farming of lands, heavy assessments, ousting of ryots for accumulating arrears, transference of lands to new hands and the cruelty of seasons, created a crisis in cultivation, which meant also a heavy toll on population. He held the succession of adverse seasons, decrease in population, exceptionally low prices of grain, neglect of irrigation works, corruption of village authorities, the extravagance of zamindars and mismanagement of estates, to be the chief reasons for the arrears of land assessments.¹⁵ For 12 years prior to the period of inquiry, the circumstances were the same and they had an adverse effect on population as in Godavary, where it was reduced from 7,38,308 in 1821-22 to 5,61,041 by 1842. As rack-renting had ruined the cultivator, Munroe suggested the outright annexation of the dispossessed zamindaries, as their restoration would only mean the perpetuation of an evil influence. The permanent settlement in the Circars proved a complete failure.¹⁶ Ancient zamindars and modern proprietors were both unthrifty and unbusinesslike. They allowed the government to be in arrears and they neglected the best interests of the ryot on whom they depended for support. The population decreased, the revenue diminished and people were reduced to poverty and destitution under the permanent settlement.

On the recommendations of Sir Charles Trevelyan, Godavary was divided into two districts from 16th December, 1859. Experienced administrators like Sir Henry Montgomery and Sir Edward Elliot had suggested a complete survey of lands and

ryotwary assessments in Kistna and Guntur to avoid the mistakes committed in Godavary.¹⁷

Joint rents were introduced in anticipation of survey and settlements though agriculture and land tenures were in no way better than in Godavary. "Visabadi" and "Asra" system had completely replaced the prevailing village rents as temporary expedients, the former for the dry and the latter for the wet lands.¹⁸

Visabadi meant a division of the gross assessment of all the lands in the village of each ryot either annually or for a term of years. In the first case, the ryots retained the same lands every year, but assessment changed annually with the peculiar practice of challenging the rents. This deterred the wealthy ryot from improving the land because he was not sure whether he would continue to hold it after rendering the land productive.¹⁹ Asra, which was prevalent in all wet lands, meant sharing the government part of the crops in money. This system was best calculated to enable the ryots to defraud the government by false measurements as the shares were equally distributed between both. The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas were eligible for exemptions as they employed labour to cultivate lands. In Visabadi, though the assessment was an individual responsibility, it could be converted into a collective agreement or a joint rent system.

Though in 1830 the government did not agree to the introduction of the renting system in Kistna, in 1834 they introduced the Asra system in Visabadi villages, fixing the rents as high as possible. Remissions were discontinued and farming of rents in principle was accepted. But this led to considerable deterioration by 1839. The Commissioner for Northern Circars then recommended the system of joint rents with collective and individual responsibility, which the Madras Government and the Board of Directors approved as a temporary expedient for 15 years and ordered non-interference by government servants.²⁰ But in practice this too proved a failure. Government interference continued to be there. The economic consequences of joint rents were disastrous. The influential members of the community had nothing in common with the poor ryot, whom they regarded as a dead-weight on the village. They not only gave the ryots no assistance, but, on the contrary, they inflicted on them positive injustice.²¹

Revenue administration in Ceded Districts was equally bad.

Assessment which was Rs. 56,000,000 in 1807 had increased enormously by 1827. As Munroe's revenue survey was not over by 1807, the triennial settlements were continued till 1825 without any reduction in assessment. Unable to bear the burden of rents, the peasants started migrating in large numbers to Hyderabad and Mysore. Thus the benefit of the ryotwary system, under which every ryot was a cultivating proprietor holding his land at a fixed assessment, proved illusory. The appeals to the Board of Revenue, even by the Company officials, were of no avail.²² Munroe's ryotwary experiments proved equally disastrous. Land rent was as high as Rs. 25 to 50 per acre. His defence was "notwithstanding the high price of grain, the universal failure of rains and cattle mortality, the assessment presses heavier than I expected on the country ; but it cannot be safely lightened because the inhabitants would consider such a step more as proof of our weakness than indulgence."²³ The revenue collection continued to be excessively heavy. From Rs. 12 lakhs in 1800-1801, it rose to Rs. 17 lakhs in 1801-1802, Rs. 18 lakhs in 1802-1803 and fell to Rs. 17 lakhs in 1803-04, only to rise to the unprecedented heights of Rs. 20½ lakhs in 1804-05 and Rs. 23 lakhs in 1805-06. It again fell to Rs. 17 lakhs in 1806-07, the last year of Munroe's administration.²⁴

Even after 15 years, the rents proved so heavy that Munroe himself, when he came as Governor in 1820, had to reduce them by 25 per cent. on dry lands and by 31 per cent. on garden lands. It was clear that "plundering and blundering" had been the order of the day. One incessant scheme of extortion, of absconding and punishing renters continued. Revenue was higher than it ever had been and the system was an utter failure.²⁵

By 1830, the revenue again rose to Rs. 20,00,000. The lot of the ryot in Cuddapah was very wretched, and he had to be shown concession very frequently. He had to pay for insufficient water three or four times as much as those in other districts paid for sufficient water.²⁶ The position in Bellary was almost the same. There were several defalcations. Threats of distress of property induced some ryots to pay at least a part of the rents, while some took to flight and escaped with the proceeds.²⁷ Still the government insisted on perpetuating the very rents without reducing them. "Cultivation was considerably reduced and many villages came back to government exhausted in resources and population. Renters had fled in fright and left the villages split into parties and factions, leading to utmost confusion."²⁸

But the court of directors in England never wanted to recognise these facts. According to them, the system failed because the Madras Government did not give the permanent leases a fair trial.²⁹ An immediate return to the ryotwary system could not have brought about any miraculous improvement, as during the years of triennial leases, much of the finest black land in Allur, Rayadurg and Gooty had been abandoned and became unfit for cultivation. The low prices of grain and low sale value of the land was distressing to the ryot. The original share of the government which was 45 per cent. had increased to 60 per cent., on account of conversion of rent into money and owing to the rise of price of paddy to Rs. 84 per garce. Thus the share ultimately taken by the government was coming to 48 per cent. of the gross produce.

By 1850, the situation became still worse. 'Diltum' or the method of accounting cultivable land was abolished as it became a mere mockery. Even the Patel's office was sought to be abolished, as he enjoyed large inams in addition to his remuneration. The inams were enormous in extent and uncultivated while their assessments were low compared to the ryotwary land. They were considerably reduced by 1856 and 1857. On dry rates, lands assessed at Rs. 4 per acre were reduced to Rs. 3, those assessed at Rs. 3 to 4 to Rs. 2-8-0, Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 2-4-0, and those between Rs. 2-4-0 and Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 2-0-0. Similarly, wet rates above Rs. 16 per acre were reduced to Rs. 12 and those between Rs. 16 and Rs. 15 to Rs. 11-8-0, Rs. 15 and 14, Rs. 14 and Rs. 13 to Rs. 10-8-0 and Rs. 13 to 12 to Rs. 10. This did not mean considerable reduction in the ryot's burden. Even when there was no crop, the assessment was 50 per cent. By 1860, village establishments were sought to be revised. But even this did not improve the situation in Ceded Districts.

Land tenures in Kurnool were in no way better. High prices and heavy assessments turned the peasants to agricultural labourers. The richer ryots had no love lost for the poorer ones and imposed on them more than their share of rent.³⁰ Similar lands were assessed at different rates and the only answer was, 'it was so'. The karnam and the Reddis took the nearer and the best lands and gave the highly assessed lands to others. The over-taxation of the district, the artificial renting system, the recurring heavy balances of revenue and the impossibility of regular collections were the notorious features of the revenue administration. Bad farming, land without saleable value,

struggle to reduce the size of the farm due to over assessments were the prevailing conditions then in Kurnool.³¹ Proposals for survey had failed, the assessment on garden lands was highest and prices in 1840 were three times those in 1820. The land revenue which was Rs. 6,86,847 in Fasli 1249 fell in four years to Rs. 5,49,873. The efforts of the agent of Kurnool to revive the renting system were opposed by the government on the plea that "in a country ground down by illegal exactions and disheartened by violence, the rupture of accustomed ties, produced a temporary depression".³² By sixties, the ryot began to enjoy comparative prosperity due to rise in agricultural prices, temporary remissions and a reduction in permanent assessments. Remissions were not usually granted, but yet the ryots held the lands which they could have given up, in anticipation of higher prices alone. In 1864, a new settlement was introduced in Kurnool, dividing the black and red soils, the former comprising 89 per cent. and the latter 11 per cent. Even at the reduced rents of Rs. 1-8-0 per acre, several lands under irrigation by old wells were thrown out of cultivation by 1864, when all these were assimilated into dry lands.³³

The prospects of proper land revenue administration were equally remote in Nellore which was suffering with bad seasons, failure of crops, heavy inundations and splitting of lands from 1801 to 1808. The Collector of Nellore, trying to outbeat Munroe in revenue earnings, started assessing the ryots, not on the basis of produce, but with reference to their wealth. The ryots had, therefore, to pay from the previous savings, failing which their lands were taken over by the Company.³⁴ The estates of shrotriemdars, zamindars and poligars of Woodetavary and Chiratvari poliems met the same fate, when they fell into arrears. The Company did not hesitate to take over the lands under court of wards and take charge of police duties. Some shrotriemdars abandoned their villages, the lands of others were taken by the revenue authorities, some provided security of lands and some fled for fear of distraint of property. The poorer ryots had no option but to sell their grain at the merchant's rate to meet the exorbitant revenue demands.³⁵ While one-third of the villages were settled by 1809, the rest were settled for three years in 1810. The villagers were called and given cowles. But cultivation failed. The excessive duties on betel leaves and tobacco led to the stoppage of their cultivation too.³⁶ Still the revenue revision effected by the decennial leases in 1810 enhanc-

ed the rents further on the basis of the last ten years and the Collectors struggled hard to collect them. The failure of crops due to bad seasons raised a clamour for reduction of rents. Some of the powerful ryots and zamindars like Venkatagiri proceeded to Madras to complain against the harsh revenue administration. The Collector threw most of them into jail. But the paralysing effects on agriculture could not be checked. Lands changed hands, ryots were ousted, accounts were neglected, industry was checked, lands were usurped, public servants were kept out of practice, the Collector himself had no control over the situation, which did not improve till 1829. Notorious corruption was prevalent throughout, and the economic condition of the ryots was fast deteriorating.³⁷ Mr. Stone who came as Collector in 1835, abandoned this ryotwary system and introduced fixed field assessments in grain instead of money assessments from 1842. This led to some shortlived improvement by 1847.³⁸ But, by 1850, the peasants were once again hit by a severe monsoon and serious breaches which necessitated reduction of rents. The damage was very great. A reduction of As. 2 in the rupee was at last introduced on the fivefold rents varying from Rs. 25, Rs. 20-5-0, Rs. 15-10-0, Rs. 9-6-0 and Rs. 4-11-0 per acre by 1856.³⁹ Similar reduction in the wet rates above Rs. 10 were also effected. But still the transference of lands and villages from one taluk to another could not be averted. In 1864, further reductions to the tune of Rs. 26,124 on 9,180 acres were proposed and were sanctioned by 1865.⁴⁰

The permanent settlement regulations of 1802, regarding fixity of tenure and assessment remained unchecked for 63 years, in spite of the increasing agitation by the zamindars, who were fighting again for upholding their right to enhance land revenue, without increasing the peiscush they had to pay. Mr. Collet, an English Judge, ultimately yielded to the pressure of these vested interests and gave a judgement in their favour. This led to the appointment of a committee in 1863, for preparing a Bill. But its purpose was defeated by the time it became an Act in 1865. It once again became a prey to the agitation of the vested interests. The Rent Recovery Act of 1865 had created, as the Estates Land Committee said, "greater trouble by clubbing together two irreconcilable classes of land-holders and actually attempting in all sections to provide rules relating to the enhancement of rents."⁴¹

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CHAPTER IV

IRRIGATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Irrigation

The East India Company administratively neglected the Andhra Districts. It was interested only in preserving the older irrigation works rather than in starting fresh projects. In the Circars, a good deal of land was irrigated by the Godavary and Kistna, but the Ceded Districts had no favourable water facilities excepting the erratic monsoon, or an old tank or well. Most of the existing irrigation works were very old and needed repairs. In this sphere, the efforts of the State were always accompanied by philanthropic activity from the very beginning. In Kurnool, 400 old tanks continued to cater to the irrigation needs, but nothing was done to improve or renovate them. Similarly, a 14th century tank in Nellore was left uncared for.¹ Thousands were left in drought every year, as both the projects of the old Governments and those of the public spirited donors were left uncared for by the Company.² Occasional loans for repairing old irrigation works were given by the Company, only when they could help the payment of land revenue without arrears. Sir Thomas Munroe followed the same principle in Ceded Districts. More than half the existing irrigation works were constructed by the ryots themselves. Without them, vast tracts could not be protected against drought every year.³ If repairs were ever carried out, they were always at the expense of the renters, who had to keep a deposit with the Company.⁴ Local authorities used to take up the smaller works, while the bigger ones were entrusted to supervisors. By 1809, the Civil Engineer to the Government was given two assistants and they were raised to four in a decade—to suggest and construct canals wherever necessary. Takkavi loans were granted to ryots at 12 per cent. on security of estates.⁵ Later on, the Collectors were authorised to lend on security at 10 per cent., the whole amount to be paid in a moderate period.⁶ Some takkavi loans as in Chicacole proved very profitable, i.e., for a loan of Rs. 4,000, the value of the increased produce was Rs. 10,263 and the government share of the profit was about Rs. 5,600.⁷ Still irrigation continued to be a neglected subject in spite of its greatest importance to the economy of the region. Sir Thomas Munroe too did not con-

sider irrigation as a state responsibility even in the Ceded Districts.⁸ Repairs to tanks or wells were undertaken only if the expenditure involved could be recovered in four years, either by increase in rent or in produce. Thus irrigation was always looked at from the point of view of productivity and not as a measure of protection to the peasants.

In Northern Circars, suggestions for the construction of irrigation works were made as early as the 18th century. The great Godavary anicut, the greatest feat of engineering skill, was made possible by the mighty efforts of Sir Arthur Cotton, though the original scheme was suggested by Michael Topping towards the end of the 18th century. The irrigation projects were once again revived in 1841 when Sir Arthur Cotton's vivid accounts of irrigation prospects created fresh enthusiasm by promising to irrigate an extensive area of 40 miles bordering the Colleru lake near the Kistna river, 32 miles from the Coringa Bay. The prospects of irrigation on the Godavary anicut, described by Sir Arthur Cotton, were highly tempting. Out of 13,00,000 acres, 10,00,000 acres were considered fit for cultivation of paddy and sugarcane on consideration of the capabilities of the river and the land. There was ample supply of water for rice crop on all the lands in the delta of the Godavary. It was estimated that, after the construction of the anicut, the area of the cultivable land in Rajahmundry would be 81,600 acres and the gross produce therefrom, Rs. 30,20,000, yielding a revenue of Rs. 15,10,000. Sir Arthur Cotton said there would be a revenue of Rs. 20,00,000 and produce of 124,00,000 on government lands alone. Sugarcane growers paid for water at the rate of Re. 1 per acre i.e. 800 cubic yards. According to some contemporary estimates, "There are 420,000 cubic yards of water flowing into sea per hour, which was worth Rs. 500 per hour, i.e., Rs. 12,000 per day which for 240 days comes to Rs. 28,80,000. The water, if applied to cultivation, was worth Rs. 50,00,000. The whole of this was being lost—1 $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter million cubic yards of water worth Rs. 100,00,000 a year. The estimated cost of the project was not more than Rs. 12,00,000, the anicut alone costing Rs. 5,00,000. Within a few years, it was expected to yield Rs. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs per year, i.e., 50 per cent. of the cost and when sugar cultivation was extended a 100 per cent return would by no means be impossible and the outlay would be counterbalanced by several times."⁹ In spite of all these economic advantages, it was not acceptable to the Board of Directors in England and Sir Arthur Cotton had to face a most

unexpected and cynical criticism. He was very much misunderstood and misrepresented by the Company officials in India. In spite of all this, he continued to press for its execution, not only on grounds of economic advantage, but on those of humanity as well. "Speaking nothing about the lasting injury to the revenue, the incalculable blessings of the anicut will have to be imagined, as such a thing as famine would be a deepest reproach to our administration, must be sufficient inducement to take it up. If this work had been in existence for the last 20 years, hundred thousand lives could have been saved."¹⁰ He had to coax the Board of Directors and the Government of Madras a good deal, to persuade them to look into the merits of his arguments. Fortunately, the Committee that was appointed to investigate into his proposals gave more than an encouraging verdict, saying that "it is scarcely necessary to add that time itself in the construction of the anicut is money, if the work is to increase revenue, sooner the increase begins the better."¹¹ Sending a brief report on the construction of irrigation works on the Godavary, Col. Cotton wrote, "There is nothing, the natives appreciate after peace, more than their public works and especially those that furnished them with water, I cannot but trust that this is only the beginning of the series of works, worthy of our nation, our knowledge, our religion and the extraordinary power God is pleased to put in our hands".¹² He was rightly called the father of the irrigation works in Andhra.

The Kistna district too had the privilege of good irrigation works. The project was originally started as early as in 1792 but was completed only in 1853.¹³ These twin projects minimised the effects of famines, improved the prosperity of the ryots, showed considerable increase in the yield of land and facilitated payment of higher rents. Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras, visited the Godavary anicut in 1859, when according to every conceivable estimate, the average irrigated land amounted to 11,00,000 acres. The remainder could not be irrigated due to insufficiency of channels and want of subsidiary canals for distribution of water.¹⁴ Hence Col. Cotton suggested some secondary works. Fortunately, his suggestions were accepted and implemented in 1864 and extensive lines of water communications between the Godavary and the Kistna were completed by adding up 582 miles length of channels to irrigate 78,00,000 acres.¹⁵ The immediate financial results were excellent. The revenue for the Fasli 1256 was Rs. 30,000 more than for Fasli

1251 and thereafter, it steadily increased the collection in Fasli 1262 to Rs. 64,000 in excess of Fasli 1256. The aggregate increase amounted to Rs. 2,00,308.¹⁶ The irrigation projects had many direct and indirect effects on the economy of the Andhra districts. The direct effects were : (1) The preservation of lands from floods by the system of embankments ; (2) their relief by cutting off the drainage channels ; and (3) the supply of water to the lands throughout the year. The indirect benefits had both short-term and long-term effects, like the employment of several thousands of people at a time when they could not find work elsewhere.

From March 1, 1847 to April 30, 1850, the expenditure on labour on daily hire was Rs. 2,39,130, the daily number of labourers employed was 30,54,413, which was five times the total population. By 1852, there was regular monthly employment on building operations for 641 bricklayers, 365 stone masons, 6,500 daily labourers out of which 5,300 were from Rajahmundry and 1,200 from Masulipatam. Besides, each taluka in the Rajahmundry district was directed to supply sufficient number of workers in relation to its size and population.¹⁷ This was a great relief to the people at a time of great agricultural depression. The indirect relief of long-term value was the increase in land revenue and provision of markets for agricultural produce and merchandise. Many ryots in the Godavary and Kistna rose from poverty to independent cultivation.¹⁸ But the incidence of land revenue continued to increase. The state in its pursuit of a legitimate share in water profits, went too far in an unscrupulous gamble.¹⁹ The collectors' proposal for assessing the irrigated lands of the Godavary and the Kistna on the principle of fixed water rate, besides a district land tax, was opposed by the chief engineer on the ground that the increase in produce, would not be so much as to justify a separate burden.²⁰ The Board of Revenue also felt that a separate water tax for irrigation was not expedient.²¹ However, the Government of Madras was not prepared to lose this source of revenue.²² They considered Rajahmundry was a locality where water tax at the rate of Rs. 2 per acre of paddy crop might be collected as a contribution towards the expenses of the State.²³ While the Court of Directors favoured the suggestion of the Madras Government for a separate water tax, the Secretary of State for India went a step further and argued that water supply must be measured and paid for, because that was the practice on the

Ganges and it was not shown that there were local peculiarities which prevented its adoption in the Godavary and Kistna districts that could be charged for the facility of irrigation. Accordingly the prospects of its variation proved inevitable as the rate fixed in Masulipatam and Guntur was Rs. 4. Later on, this was taken as the consolidated water rate without reference to the number of crops, while in Masulipatam, the charge on the first crop was Rs. 6-8-0 and on the second crop, Rs. 1-12-0, thus making a total of Rs. 8-4-0 on the 2 crops. There were many difficulties in the way of calculating and adopting a universal water tax. First was the cost of supply to government, (ii) the general increased value given to land by conversion from dry to irrigated, (iii) protection from inundation, freedom of drainage and the advantage of water carriage. The difficulty was about the correct formula.

Col. Cotton made several estimates about the probable rates that could be charged for the facility of irrigation. According to one estimate, he calculated the cost of supplying the Godavary delta with water, providing for one or two crops of rice and reserving a considerable quantity of water for the rest of the year would be annually about As. 3 per acre, supplied with about 8,000 cubic yards at the rate of 32,000 cubic yards per rupee.^{24(a)} The cost of supplying water on a large-scale was given at 3,00,000 cubic yards to the acre, it was As. 4 per acre.^{24(b)} Again, the cost was given to be 26,000 cubic yards per rupee, which at the same rate of distribution came to As. 5 per acre.^{24(c)} On a larger scale of supply, the water rates were estimated at 30,000 cubic yards for the rupee, and elsewhere from 20,000 to 40,000 cubic yards per rupee. Thus, his calculations varied from As. 3 to As. 6 per acre.

On the irrigation works on the Godavary and the Kistna, at their cost a water charge of Rs. 2-0-0 on the Kistna and Rs. 1-4-0 on the Godavary were considered adequate to reimburse the outlay and current expenditure on them, while As. 11 to As. 14 per acre was calculated to be the rate which would eventually repay the outlay on both the works. In considering the differences in the rates between the Godavary and the Kistna, it must be remembered that the first was several years in advance of the second, in its progress of hydraulic operations. While the financial results of irrigation on the Godavary was considered to be Rs. 2 lakhs, the benefit derived from the Kistna anicut was estimated at Rs. 1,82,320 for the years

1858-59 from about 116 villages in Bapatla, Ponnur, Repalle, Tenali, Mangalagiri, Prathipad and Guntur.²⁵ Thus, both the anicuts proved highly beneficial to the ryots, and were great bulwarks against famines. Had the work of constructing more canals and sluices been continued, there would not have been the existing impediments to transport facilities for food supply, especially in times of famines.

In Ceded Districts, there was great agitation for sound irrigation projects such as on the Tungabhadra, as a protection against drought and failure of crops. Many schemes of the Tungabhadra Project were suggested, but they were never taken seriously.

Communications

Till the middle of the 19th century, the brinjaries were the means of commerce and communications in the country. They carried things by pack bullocks on the weather-beaten paths, the cleared up swamps and the valleys and side-tracks, washed by the rains. In the absence of any positive State interest in the matter of communications, roads were extremely bad; hence commerce and trade passed through the navigable rivers in the native craft and dhonies (small boats). The whole of Andhra was interspersed by a network of rivers, with multifarious channels. The Vizag and Ganjam districts too were not deficient in river traffic. This internal river traffic had a great tradition behind it. The Andhras were a great maritime race, expert ship builders and fine boat makers.²⁶ Ships from all over the world were coming to Coringa for repairs and reconstruction. As early as 1803, the Company itself had its ships and native craft built, in these age-old ports. As early as 1817, the Collector of Rajahmundry proposed construction of river communications between Coconada and Masulipatam. He had put the cost at st. pag. 6,200. The expenditure for each of the channels at Ingeram, Chinchinada, Coringa and Doddavaram was calculated to be st. pag. 685, for Kalipatnam and Muramalla, st. pag. 404, for Kottarevu, Bodasakurru, Chollangy and Mutyalapally, st. pag. 304, for Yanam, Mulapolam, Cazucalava and Madapolam, St. pag. 254, and for Coconada, st. pag. 39, thus in all coming to st. pag. 6,200. The Government of Madras wanted these estimates to be reduced in consultation with the Commercial Residents at Ingeram and Coringa along with an indication of the rivers on which the boats were sought to be run.²⁷ They also wished to know whether the boatmen could

be taken up in the service of the Company or whether a toll could be levied to defray the cost of maintaining an efficient establishment, as there were so many rivers in so short a distance. Even after a detailed study, the schemes originally suggested could not be revised and reduced in amount. The mighty Godavary had been carrying in its bosom, what all its people wanted, even before some of the much-opposed man-made channels came into being by the middle of the 19th century. The provision of these additional facilities meant a good deal of unworthy criticism against the sponsors of the schemes, like Sir Arthur Cotton. Suggestions made by lesser men in power, had naturally no chance of realisation. If the canal projects on the rivers along with the schemes for traffic were considered favourably and approved, there would not have been the constant worry of famines, large tracts of land would have been irrigated, the human and cattle mortality could have been reduced, the brinjaries would not have refused to come with their bullocks for want of forage and the internal river traffic would have added to the general social welfare. But the indifference of the Company Government to these various schemes left the river traffic without any improvement.

The navigation works on the Godavary and Kistna were, of course, very useful as the people wanted cheap transport. The number of boats that passed the Vijjeswaram lock in 1853-54 was 204 and the value of rice, seeds and other exports was Rs. 9,000. The exports would have amounted to Rs. 10,80,000, if the channels were in good condition. For April, 1854, the value of the exports of the delta was Rs. 40,000, of which 14,000 was the value of grain ; 21,000 that of jaggery, etc. In May 1853, the exports were valued at Rs. 56,000.²⁸ The manuscript records of the time contain several details about the trade of this period, carried through the navigable rivers and channels. The ryots wanted to take advantage of these channels by selling their grains wherever they could obtain the best price. While the price of rice in Masulipatam and Coconada was Rs. 10 and Rs. 11 per candy, the ryot in Wundy (West Godavary) was forced to sell his grain at the low price of Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 due to lack of demand, to enable him to pay the heaviest kist ; he had thus to part with his produce at a ruinous price to enrich the sahukar. Thus prices affected revenue. When the ryot could himself export his produce at a trifling expense, he could feel independent of the sahukars, as his return would increase by 50 per cent. and his

kist was paid with ease.²⁹ It was impossible to exaggerate the great advantage of navigation over the Godavary which flowed through a naturally rich country, full of valuable products. Even the people who knew nothing of trade or navigation enquired whether it would at least bring them salt. There was a cry for salt everywhere. At Bhadrachalam, a place half-way between Rajahmundry and Chemoor, it was sold 100 per cent. above the monopoly price.³⁰ Besides the cargo boats, navigation by steam boats became appreciative and popular as the running costs could be reduced. With the use of steam, the river could be worked far more cheaply, as good fuel could be procured up the river at half a rupee a ton. While in America, with greater expense for labour and low value of money, it was one pie a ton per mile, it must be much less than that in Andhra. This was a line of very useful investigation which was never considered seriously by the Company Government, nor by the Crown subsequently. These were excellent schemes which, if only implemented, would have brought about a wonderful change in the economy of the Andhra districts, but unfortunately they never materialised.³¹

The beneficent effects of the existing irrigation system were marred by the burdensome customs collections at too many places and at too frequent intervals. There were at least 30 chowkies on the banks of the Godavary as at Cotapatnam, Chinchinada, Waddipara, Gootala, Nadipoody, Siddhantam, Ryalee, Mukkamala, Moolapatnam, not to speak of the minor banks. Peons were employed to watch the traffic at all these places on a pay of 15 pagodas per month, to see that no article escaped payment. Ferry collections were auctioned every year to the highest bidder after inviting tenders. Even for the movement of troops, rivers were resorted to and countrycraft was made to order by means of advances coming to st. pag. 1,900 at Rajahmundry, Yanam, Doddavaram, Casipatnam, Mootapalli, Cottarevu and Coconada.³² Even in the Ceded Districts, land and water communications were inadequate. Some ferries were plying on the Tungabhadra from 1812.³³ But the rates varied from man to man and ferry to ferry. While a man on one ferry paid 19 cash, another paid on the second 1.14 cash. A laden bullock was charged on one ferry 56 cash, while for the beast, it was 1 fanam 52 cash. At the ghats, one-third of the collections went to the boatmen and two-thirds to Government.³⁴

Neither the land nor the river communications were im-

proved. Though there was no systematic road programme, some efforts were made towards 1804, to construct roads in the Northern Circars.³⁵ A road was laid from Vizag to Ganjam and thence to Bezwada. All the Collectors were to assist in this programme, but there was not much progress. The situation in Nellore was in no way different. There were few districts in which commencement of roads and provision of transport was more needed than Nellore and Ongole.³⁶ In the Ceded Districts, the only road in good condition in 1818 was a military one from Bellary to Madras.³⁷ Other roads like those from Bellary to Nandidurg, Hyderabad to Goa remained without any repairs since the beginning of the Company Government. Some estimates for repairs were made now and then and were given up as exorbitant. In Mysore, the roads were neat and clean, but they were neglected because there was neither compulsory labour nor good climate and weather. They were so bad as to destroy every conveyance that used them.³⁸ Even if the Revenue Board realised the need for internal communications and pointed out the importance of "freeing the jungle by which communications were impeded, they did not pursue the matter with the Collectors who were indifferent. The attempts never materialised as the Company was not keen on incurring any expense.³⁹ Consequently, the condition of roads in the Northern Circars considerably deteriorated and made them unfit for travel by carriage. Large, deep rivers cut through them and left them little better than paths through the channels formed by the torrents from the hills or through the beds of tanks in dry and wet weather. In Vizag, roads were mostly inland and usually impassable.⁴⁰ The road programme from Madras to Guntur and Guntur to Cuttack with trees on both the sides to save the pedestrians from going astray, did not materialise. In other places, compensation was proposed through Panchayats for lands acquired for roads, but the roads themselves were never laid. Even the moderate interest shown towards the middle of the 19th century did not go beyond making repairs to the roads in Ganjam, Berhampore and Guntur. The cost for roads and bridges came to Rs. 15,040, while travellers' bungalows at Pattipadu and Guntur cost Rs. 184-12-2. In the Circars, the roads which were to be 40 feet wide with plants on both the sides never came into existence.⁴¹

The Collectors prepared several schemes of communications. Guntur required Rs. 876-10-0 for repairing a channel breached.

The Board of Revenue itself suggested a road three yards wide by the Nandigama pass between Cuddapah and Kurnool, at a cost of Rs. 18,659. A road from Masulipatam to Hyderabad was proposed at a cost of Rs. 55,832. The Government did not sanction any of these projects.⁴²

The Public Works Commission, which came to enquire into the existing means of communications in 1852 found them in a deplorable state. According to the Commission, "there was not one complete road throughout the whole Presidency, on which it would have been possible, to employ wheeled carriages. Their use was therefore very limited and the distant traffic of the country had nowhere the advantage of them. Trucks were used by those collecting stone for the dams and tank embankments and in some localities, the harvest was brought in by carts upon wheels either formed of solid pieces of timber or cut from a single block of stone. These carts were drawn by several pairs of bullocks and carried nearly a ton, but they were never used for distant journeys. Even the main streets of the largest towns were not fit for wheels and when the most wealthy used carriages, they rarely left the precincts of the village. The only roads, if they deserved the name, were the mountain passes, which in the later wars, were opened for the passage of artillery, but they were generally destroyed by the monsoon rains before they came into the possession of the Company. The only proof of attention to good roads was to be seen in the fine avenues of trees which in some districts were laid for several hundred miles, but, as the roads beneath them were not built, nor was care taken to keep the pathways in good condition. They were in most cases worn down by traffic and washed out by the rains and became more rugged than the land on either side. In effect, their only use was, to guide travellers, who took a course as nearly parallel as the ground permitted.⁴³

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CHAPTER V

BANKING AND CURRENCY

Banking was not quite developed in the early years of the 19th century. The few crude banking institutions that were in existence were outside Andhra.

Prior to the introduction of the Company rule, Tippu Sultan made some attempts to carry on commerce and banking side by side.¹ He established banking houses all over his kingdom, with a central bank at Seringapatam for managing trade and exchange. With the government backing and the public support they received these banks virtually pushed out the private merchants from the field of commercial transactions and did yeomen service even to the commerce of the Andhra Districts at this period.

By the opening of the 19th century, there were three private banks in Madras : (i) the Carnatic Bank (started in 1788), (ii) the Madras Bank (started in 1795) and (iii) the Asiatic Bank (started in 1804). But their constant rivalries frequently prevented their notes from being in circulation.² To remedy these defects, the Company appointed a Committee to investigate into banking matters. On its recommendations, a Government Bank was started in 1806, with power to issue notes for circulation throughout the Province.³ It could receive and deposit specie and keep current accounts for the merchants, but without the security of government paper, by loans or advances. No loans were to be made to anybody. Discounting of government and unexceptionable private bills was allowed with a three-month time limit. The government was the sole director and controller of its transactions. By its efficient work, it served a useful purpose both for government and the public. Its note circulation was satisfactory, while its rate of interest was low.

Even in mofussil districts, as in Masulipatam, banking institutions were developing rapidly, the shareholders holding joint and individual responsibility for their solvency. Bills were discounted at 12½ per cent. while 9 per cent. was paid on deposits. Ten per cent. to 15 per cent. was the usual dividend declared by each of these institutions.⁴

By 1836, as the centre of gravity shifted from banks to treasuries, the transmission of accounts was made on govern-

ment account. Banking business failed to be as lucrative as before and large-scale cash transactions declined, because of insecurity and robberies on the highways. This gave way to Hundis and Bills of Exchange ; in all commercial transactions, merchants who bought cotton in Walajipeta and went to Hyderabad procured Hundis by local correspondents on their agents in Madras. These were either sold to Bengali merchants or sent to Madras and exchanged for Government Bills which were readily acceptable anywhere. The old practice of travelling with money was changed into bill transactions. Bills of exchange were drawn for sums upwards of Rs. 1,000 payable at sight or within one to three months.⁵

But adequate attention could not be given to the development of banking on account of the confusion created by the bimetallic currency. Both gold and silver coins were in circulation from the time of Moghul rule.⁶ These coins began to change their denominations, appreciating and depreciating in value according to the caprice of the Shroffs. The disparity in the exchange values of currencies created considerable difficulties to the people at large.⁷ The relative values of gold and silver were different in the Circars and Madras and in spite of several petitions from the people, the Board did nothing, except describing the discrepancy as due to the interested machinations of competing commercial agents, or to the mischief of the zamindars who were allowed to enjoy the advantage of exacting gold from the ryots, because they in turn conspired with Shroffs to raise the value of gold coin and depress the value of silver currency to the detriment of the public. The Company did nothing to alleviate the distress of the common folk. The only remedy they could think of was to prevent the machinations of the privileged classes by proper vigilance and inspection by executive authority.⁸

The system of differential ratio established between gold and silver coins was responsible for all the chaotic fluctuations, the Shroffs, the zamindars and merchants trying to take advantage of the situation. The general exchange ratio by 1800 was as follows :⁹

350 Arcot rupees to 100 star pagodas and 10 per cent. more or 385 rupees for 100 M.P., i.e., the M.P. was considered higher in value to the extent of 10 per cent. more than the star pagoda as the gold content in the former was 4,554 of 1,000 grains, while in the latter it was only 8 per cent.¹⁰

A reform was called forth between the relative values of gold and silver, between Arcot rupee, Star and Madras Pagodas. Hence, by another circular in 1804, the exchange values were fixed at 100 Star Pagodas—300 Arcot rupees at 10 per cent.

100 Madras Pagodas—412 Arcot rupees, but on 8 per cent. it would come to Arcot rupees 375 alone. So, the Board prepared an alternative exchange ratio of 100 Star Pagodas—375 Arcot rupees at 10 per cent.; 100 M.P.—41½ Arcot rupees, but at 8 per cent. it would be only 405 Arcot rupees.¹¹ The exchange value between gold and silver was established at the ratio of 137-20 grains of pure silver bullion, i.e. $14\frac{1}{5}$ grains of pure silver for one grain of pure gold.¹² Government had, however, resolved to give little more than 13 grains of silver for what was worth in the bazars as bullion 15 grains. Thus, whenever the gold pagoda currency existed, it was excluded from the government treasury. Though in Madras and its vicinity, gold currency was not in circulation, gold pagoda was the currency of the Circars from time immemorial.

The zamindars collected rents from the ryots in Madras pagodas which had to be purchased at the current exchange rate of 400 to 416 Arcot rupees for 100 Madras pagodas. The zamindars sold them to the Shroffs at the same rate or paid into the government treasury only Rs. 385 receiving credit for 110 star pagodas. The remainder was observed to be the profit of the zamindar; for one grain of gold, the zamindar was receiving 15 grains of silver, while paying into the government treasury 13 grains only. An artificial demand was created for the Madras pagoda in Northern Circars, by fixing its exchange with silver coins below its relative value. Besides, this coin was excluded from the government treasury and consequently from the mints, but was passing through the hands of Shroffs, who paid it to ryots and received back from the zamindars. The people paid high brokerage to the Shroffs. The difference between the government and bazar exchange led to great fraud by the native revenue servants. This lack of uniformity was prevented by its exclusion from the mint. The government attributed the abuse of this system to the zamindars and merchants and instructed the Collectors to inform the ryots of the value of the correct legal tender.¹³

But people had a sentimental attachment to the gold coin in preference to silver coins. The ease with which they could be stored and kept secretly was an advantage to them.¹⁴ In

the trade between the ryot and the baniyas, the latter would not take any coin other than gold. The zamindar purchased silver with gold and it would be extraordinary if he did not, when the temptation of 5 per cent. profit on the revenue was offered to him. The withdrawal of the Madras pagoda from circulation would have saved much havoc, but this the government was not prepared to do.

As an adjunct to gold and silver currency, a lot of small copper coins too were brought into circulation for purposes of meeting the people's daily needs. The poorer section of the population had nothing better to their credit, but even this coinage was not without serious defects. Sometimes, it was scarce, sometimes it was abundant, sometimes it was sold, at other times it was mutilated and very often exported to the Mahratta territories. Some of the Collectors sounded a note of warning and implored for the strict regulation of this coinage. Some, like the Collector of Ganjam, suggested to have approximate estimates of the currency requirements and issue copper coinage worth Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 4,000 in addition to the usual coins converted to each Rs. 100 without the Province which came to another Rs. 4,000 annually.¹⁵ The government wanted to introduce even small cash, lesser in denomination than copper dubs, and almost all the Collectors favoured this suggestion, as cowry shells were being used by people for want of low circulating media for exchange in places like Masulipatam,¹⁶ to Vizianagaram.¹⁷ The mint workers in Masulipatam who were brought from Hyderabad at the time of the Moorish rule had not adequate work as the gold coinage was stopped and they had no other means of subsistence. The introduction of small cash could also benefit this suffering working-class by providing them with food and work.¹⁸ Even the Collector of Mogeltore suggested the introduction of low-grade currency for circulation, as there was so far no intermediary coin between the rupee and the copper piece.¹⁹ Something like fanam and half fanams as used in Madras was thought to be of infinite value to all lower-middle class people. In Guntur, for want of cash, i.e. one-fifth of a pie and copper dubs, people resorted to the use of cowry shells, which were imported via Masulipatam from Maldives islands to the extent of 1,68,000 and even this was in short supply because of the great demand for this commodity in the territories of Deccan.²⁰ So, to remedy the handicaps, the Collector of Guntur recommended the circulation of cash of

42,000 at the rate of cowry shells as cash, so that the cowries in course of time may disappear. He also suggested the introduction of a protective duty on their importation or prevention by direct interdiction.

The Government introduced copper currency even of the lowest denomination, but the evils of fluctuation, scarcity of copper for currency purposes, the malpractices of melting the coins for making utensils, etc., occasioned considerable losses for the currency in circulation.²¹ This was also causing a great handicap to the poorer sections of the community who had to purchase their daily needs through the currency, more especially to the sepoys who were receiving a fixed pay. Several suggestions to reform this currency muddle were made by the various Collectors. In 1808, the Masulipatam Mint was closed and the workers were sent to Madras Mint.²² As the government had enough copper resources, then they were asked to mint copper coins whenever required.²³ If there was scarcity of copper, then silver coins of smaller denomination were considered more advantageous. But their recommendations went unheeded as in the case of gold and silver coins. At places like Rajahmundry, Arcot rupees and other silver coins issued from the Government Mints alone were current.²⁴

The currency system in Vizagapatam was also in a most unsatisfactory state. Everywhere, the zamindars, the renters, foudjards and village officials were taking care to give out the worst and cheaper coins, while receiving from the ryots the best variety. The established ratio of 385 rupees to 100 pagodas was never strictly followed. Irrespective of the inconvenience due to fluctuations in their values, the gold coins, the pagodas and mohurs continued to be in circulation till 1818, when the government declared, to end all confusion, the par value of the gold mohur as equivalent to Rs. 25.²⁵ The silver rupee had 165 grains of pure silver and 15 grains of alloy. But this system had again to be modified to suit the commercial interests of the Company as well as the convenience of the British servants, who had to remit their salaries home. They were paid in star pagodas and if they were to send home the same, there was no scope for profit-making. So to help the English servants, the currency was changed from gold to silver, with an automatic change in the exchange ratio from 1 sh. to 2 sh. per rupee. By this the Company wanted to shoot two birds with one bullet, gaining the sympathy of the British servants and also importing

English goods into India at cheaper rates. This created a greater market for British goods in India and enriched their home industry. Even the Company accounts were changed from star pagodas to silver currency. Gold standard and gold currency had gone. Indian mints were closed. But the demonetisation of gold mohurs was confined to external purposes only because they had not the courage to demonetise the mohur for the internal use as well.

In a communique issued at this time, the government said, "Though we are fully satisfied with the propriety of the silver rupee being the principal of value and money of account, we are by no means desirous of checking the circulation of gold but of establishing a gold coin for general uses. This coin should be called a gold rupee and be made of the same standard as of the silver rupee 180 Troy grain weight and 165 grain fine gold also divided into halves and quarters, the coins of both silver and gold should be of the same denomination, weight and fineness."²⁶ The two shillings exchange was adopted to purchase Indian raw materials for 2/3 of the gold prices and the results justified the suspicion of the Estate Lands Enquiry Committee. Another proclamation in 1818 declared the silver rupee as the standard unit of measurement for the whole Presidency. At this time, the gold star pagoda contained 52-56 grains 10½ cents fine.²⁷ But the old Madras rupees that were in circulation were not being accepted by banks and customs officials, because they thought it necessary to have some definite measure to protect them, if there were any losses in accepting them.²⁸ Some of the Madras merchants petitioned to the government to remove all restrictions on accepting the old rupee, because it was going very often to meet the obligations of trade and agriculture in every part of Andhra and many were still depending on it to pay their dues to the government.²⁹ When there were better coins in circulation, meeting the demands of the people better, the government wanted the old Madras rupee to retire from circulation. But, the Accountant-General gave it an additional lease, and the officers of the different Government Treasuries were instructed not to dishonour it, if any time it came to meet the obligations of the people towards the State. In an order that went into the Statute Book in 1822, the Accountant-General said, "It may be expedient to caution the officers of the Revenue against the possibility of subordinate servants rejecting the older coin or receiving it at a discount. The old rupee should be

recalled and recoined for it is certainly intrinsically of more value than the new rupee, but, if difficulties were thrown in the way of its reception, it would not be possible to accomplish the object in view.”³⁰ Consequently, an invitation was extended to the old rupee to perform its services. The officers and their subordinates were similarly cautioned against its non-acceptance.³¹

But the government took sufficient precaution to guard against every fraud, to eschew every counterfeit coin, spoiled, debased or less in weight. Under the recommendation of the Circuit Committee, utmost vigilance was kept whenever they came to the Treasury to be immediately sent back.³² Arcot rupees once received in the Treasury were not allowed to go into circulation again; they were melted and formed into new currency after proper examination by heating them and deleting the inferior stuff.³³ But even this provided no long-term relief.³⁴

Soon, the whole aspect of currency took a different turn with the promulgation of the Act XVII of 1835 which said, “No gold coins should be legal tender of payment in any of the Company’s territories. The rupee, the half rupee and the quarter rupee were to be coined in the weight of a rupee of 180 grains Troy. (165 grains or 11/12 fine 1/12 alloy, by the same Act), it was provided gold mohurs of Rs. 15 value, gold pieces of value and of Rs. 30, Rs. 10 and Rs. 5 only should be coined at the mints within the limits of the East India Company.³⁵

Gold coins which were in circulation till 1835 declined after 1835 though they continued to be accepted till 1841, in spite of the silver Monometallism that came to be in force from 1835.³⁶ After 6 years, gold was considered to be no more a regular part of the currency and by 1852 gold was refused to be accepted.³⁷ Eighteen fifty-two was a significant year. It was a year of severe fluctuations in currency value, fall in prices and depression. Gold value had come down on account of the gold discoveries in Australia and California in 1848 and 1851. There was a heavy influx of gold into the world market. World gold production increased from 5 million to 30 million 70,000 ozs. Hence, the value of gold to silver went down. That was why gold was by notification refused to be accepted as legal tender by a proclamation issued on 22nd December 1852.

The Economic Policy of the East India Company continued to be the same till the Mutiny; and the Secretary of State for

India also followed the same policy for 90 years after while the East India Company acted in an uncouth and ugly manner, the Government under the Crown developed scientific methods in defence of their profit-making motives.

In 1859, Government appointed Sir James Wilson as Finance Member and in his hands matured a paper currency scheme which he did not live to enforce in 1860.³⁸ He did not like a gold currency scheme for India. He was seriously criticised by his successor Sir James Lang. He said, "A Government, to be well served and generally respected, must never do a sharp, mean or illiberal act, for, depend upon it, the paltry savings of today will come back with ten-fold expense and a hundred-fold discredit on the morrow."³⁹

He supported Sir Charles Trevelyan's measure for gold currency in his measure of currency reform in the Legislative Assembly in 1861. Sir William Mansfield observed, "The people were so poor in some parts of the country to own the presence of money or to pay for the convenience of it while a system of barter prevailed in most places." To obviate this difficulty, James Lang suggested to the Secretary of State, "Sovereigns and half sovereigns according to British and Australian Standards 1/12 fine and £3-17-10½ coined at any properly authorised legal mint in England, Australia or India should be declared legal tender in India, at the rate of 1 sovereign for Rs. 10. Indian mints should receive gold bullion on the abovementioned terms with a charge sufficient to cover the manufacturing charges which is much below the average of 1 per cent. The mint charges for silver should be maintained at the existing rate of 2 per cent. Government currency rates would be payable either in rupees or sovereigns at the rate of Rs. 10. No bullion either gold or silver was to be given in exchange for notes.⁴⁰ These reductions were neither intended to form a gold currency or gold standard for India. The exchange ratio of Rs. 10 per pound was rather quite unjust to the Indian interests. Though the Chambers of Commerce in Madras and Bombay did not realise the mischief till the Bengal Chamber of Commerce raised a hue and cry protesting that such a course would prove unsuccessful and a great danger to the commerce and finances of India. These fears were dismissed as merely hysterical and no importance was ever given to them, nor were any of these proposals for reform ever countenanced.⁴¹

In 1865, a Government Notification declared, "Sovereign and

half sovereign coined in any authorised mint in England or Australia of current weight, shall until further notice be received in all Government Treasuries in payment of dues equivalent to Rs. 10 and Rs. 5 and such sovereigns when available at any Government Treasury be paid at the same rates to any person willing to receive them in part payment or claims against the Government." It was again the Bank of Bengal that protested against the new rate of exchange, but the Secretary of State was not prepared to hear and he held that the time had not yet come for a gold currency here.¹² Since 1865, Government shirked all currency reforms.

Nor was any attention paid to banking reform. Sir James Wilson fought against the fixed fiduciary system of reserve which retarded the progress of the paper currency and he was recommending for adoption in India, proportionate reserve system under which notes were to be issued in the proportion of one-third and two-thirds against securities. Mr. James Lang was thinking exactly in the opposite way and suggested even to introduce a double standard without never minding the concurrent inconvenience as a transitional process for the abandonment of silver and substitution of gold standard." He was not prepared to make any important alteration in the currency policy of the country. He only wanted to leave the door open to continuous and tentative experiments with regard to future use of gold. In the discussion on the paper currency reforms, he was in opposition to Sir James Wilson. He belonged to the currency school and continued along with Sir Charles Wood for the adoption of the principle of the Bank Charter Act of 1844 for India and to fix the fiduciary issue at a million, that being the extent of paper circulation provided for under the existing system through the Chartered Banks. In the word of Sir J. C. Coyajee, "A novel feature was introduced by Lang in view of the potential introduction of a gold currency in India. Gold was to form one-fourth of the reserve held against notes and bullion issued. The idea was by fixing a minimum value at which gold should be received at the Government treasuries, its superior convenience and adoption to native wants, might in course of time lead to the introduction of considerable auxiliary gold currency." The gold that was needed then might be increased until notes could be issued against it.¹³

Whatever might have been the meritorious intentions, it was nothing more than a dead letter till 1865. Eighteen sixty-

five was an year of profound significance, even in the history of International Financial Relations as in this year, the "Principal Franc" using currencies entered into what is called, the "Latin currency union", agreeing to have a uniform and interchangeable coinage of gold and silver. It occurred to few Britishers that their coin and currency required a change. As Dr. Clapham said, "When no British statesman ever gave ten minutes thought to the problem in his own country, he could not have been naturally expected to be more anxious about Banking and Currency Reform (in Andhra) in India."¹¹

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CHAPTER VI

DECLINE OF THE HANDLOOM INDUSTRY

Till the end of the 19th century, the handloom fabrics of Andhra were in great demand in England, France, China, Persia, the Mauritius, the Strait Settlements, Bourbone, Egypt, Malay Peninsula, Ceylon, the shores of the Pacific and the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, in spite of severe competition from the cheap mill-made textiles of England. With centuries of reputation for their elegance and beauty, in the fashionable circles all over the world, the paempores and chintzes of Masulipatam, Vizag, Bandamurlanka and the white cloth of Tuni were very tough competitors of the British cloth. The East India Company wanted to stifle the coastal handloom industry by stopping purchases for export and by competing with them in all the internal markets. They introduced cheap mill-made imitations and sold them in Persia, United Kingdom and the ports of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Still, the paempores and chintzes of Masulipatam, the handkerchiefs of Nellore, the blue cloth of Neelapally and the fine muslins of the Circars continued to hold their own.

But by the end of the 19th century, handloom industry as such began to loose ground all over the world, with the progress of Industrial Revolution.¹ In Andhra, the handloom wages were very low compared to the high prices of the foodstuffs and hence the powerloom products proved cheaper. The weavers continued to weave, only because of the advances given to them by the Company through the copdars who acted as middlemen between them. The copdars never gave these advances in full, leaving the weavers to be flogged by the Company's servants if they could not deliver the goods in time. Whether the copdar was a baniya or a sali, the weaver had not much to choose as his tyranny was always tolerated and blessed by the Company agents. As against these evils of the copdar system in the Northern Circars, the weavers in the Ceded Districts had to pay heavy duties and loom tax imposed by the zamindars at Re. 1/4/- per loom, irrespective of the number of looms and even if they produced cloth only for daily wear. Tapes, rumals, carpets, women's clothes, delicate and fine manufactures gradually began to go out of vogue, as cloth worth not even a pagoda had to pay a

loom tax varying from Rs. 4/- to Rs. 20/- and sometimes even more. There were duties on every registered loom and woven thread. The village officer had to register and visit every loom at work and chop the cloth in preparation before it was sold. If the cloth was bleached or coloured, the dhobi had to pay another duty from the wages he received.²

The copdars never allowed the weavers to be directly engaged nor did they give them any share in their enormous profits. The Company was only interested in getting as much cloth as possible from the balance of the investment left on the looms.³ The sympathetic representations, made by the commercial residents on behalf of the weavers, never received any favourable attention from the Board of Trade. The weavers themselves protested in vain against these dishonest and cruel copdars, who were pocketing the lion's share of the advances given by the Company agents. The weavers were made to work at very poor rates in spite of the rise in the prices of thread and foodstuffs. As the Company never trusted the weavers, the copdars contrived to have uncontrolled sway over the weaving settlements. They used to go with peons to harass the weavers, not as men of business, but of ostentation and authority, for sorting and rejecting the woven cloth, rather than for assisting and supporting the weavers.⁴ The Company agents and the Board of Trade knew the villainous methods of the copdars, but they never interfered to check these malpractices for fear of incurring their displeasure which might adversely affect their investments.⁵

In the Ceded Districts about 200 varieties of cloth, many of them differing little, but in name, used to be manufactured. The commercial residents reduced them to 28 general heads. There were 19,626 looms producing 12,35,412 pieces, valued at st. pag. 5.57,787 per annum, and 2,010 looms for jambkhanas, producing 1,57,156 pieces valued at st. pag. 42,780. The lowest product of a loom was Rs. 6/- and the highest Rs. 60/-. The greatest number of looms was employed in the fabrication of coarse cloth. The average produce of a loom was about Rs. 10/8/- per month. At this rate, 19,626 looms were yielding annually cloth valued at st. pag. 7,06,536. But still many had no work and had to go as field labourers.⁶

Nool or thread making was an important cottage industry both in the Circars and the Ceded Districts. It was known by the community which wove it, as 'kamma nool', 'kapu nool',

'madiga nool', 'mala nool', 'sali nool', etc.⁷ The price of each variety of thread was usually 10% above that of the cotton used and the cost of cloth made out of these five varieties of thread was arrived at by adding the price of thread to the labour charges. When there was a mixture of silk or silver thread, the value of the article was established by weight together with a certain extra allowance for the extra trouble of inter-weaving it. The method of chops and duties on home-made cloth prevalent in the Ceded Districts gradually spread to Northern Circars and this made the handloom products dearer there too. Every loom was subject to the imposition of heavy moturphas unless it was engaged by the Company for export to Europe when it was exempted from it as an inducement to attract the reluctant weavers, unwilling to work for the Company. Though this inducement attracted a few weavers in Ganjam and Chicacole, the general response even for this concession, was very poor in Cuddapah, Chittoor, Kalahasthi and Satyavaram Zamindaries.⁸ Out of 11,016 looms in Vizag, 6,647 were in Vizianagaram Zamindary alone, paying a loom tax to the Zamindar since 1804. In Rajahmundry, Peddapuram, Pithapuram and Dwarapoody, a few weavers came forward to weave for the Company, while those in Guntur never paid any tax at all and were indifferent to this new attraction offered by the Company.⁹ By 1820, the weavers in the Zamindaries of Rajahmundry gave up paying loom taxes, but those in Vizag were paying a three-fold loom tax. The first tax was on plain worked muslin, each loom paying, annually, a circar tax of Rs. 12/8/0, in addition to a russom of As. 12/-.¹⁰ The second was on weavers weaving 18 to 20 punjams, including russoms at the rate of Rs. 4/14/0 per loom.¹¹ By 1819, a uniform rate of Rs. 3/- per loom was arrived at, while Rajahmundry alone paid nothing. In Masulipatam, there was no exemption and the weavers paid a loom tax of Rs. 56,800/- annually from Fasli 1224 to 1228.

The Manuscript records contain very detailed statements of loom collections for each village and town. In Cuddapah, the weavers had to pay, from Fasli 1225 to 1229, loom tax of Rs. 1,52,191/7/8. The average loom rate varied from Rs. 1-7-0 to Rs. 1-6-11, the rate on first class looms from Rs. 13-11-4 to Rs. 14-4-8 and the rate on the last class of looms was from Rs. 0-5-1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. 0-6- $\frac{3}{4}$. Weavers, Muslims, Barbers, Pariahs, Cotton Cleaners, Curubas, Carpet, Gunny, Silk and Satany Weavers, had, together, 20,042 looms, paying annually a tax of

Rs. 30,479/- in Cuddapah alone.¹² The famous carpet industry of Circars and the cumbly weaving of Ceded Districts had to face the heavy menace of moturpha. But they managed to survive while the gunny-making industry could not stand this burden.

The zamindars considered all assessments as their exclusive private affair, and continued to collect the loom tax and the land tax, without ever maintaining separate accounts for them.¹³ The Poligar of Venkatagiri used to impose the highest moturpha and keep it all for himself without paying anything to the Company, and the Company had not the courage to ask him to pay a part of it to them. So they started imposing their own additional loom tax against which the weavers strongly protested and the commercial residents advised caution. The zamindars paid no heed to the appeals of the Company to keep the moturpha accounts separately. In Ganjam, every loom in the house of a weaver had to pay Rs. 1½ irrespective of the number of looms.¹⁴ Vizag paid no loom tax at all. In Nellore, fine cloth looms varied from 4,086 in fasli 1231 to 5,225 in fasli 1240 paying rent from Rs. 7,360/- to Rs. 9,872/-. The gunny looms went up from 93 to 170 by fasli 1236 and gradually fell to 43 by fasli 1240, the tax on them ranging from Rs. 7-12-0 to Rs. 38-3-0. Cumbly and blanket looms ranged from 60 to 155 paying a loom tax varying from Rs. 85-0-0 to Rs. 168-0-0. Loom tax on sack cloth weavers and tape makers varied from Rs. 0-4-0 to Rs. 167-4-0. In Bellary several looms ranging from 349 to 432 from fasli 1231 to 1241 were exempted from payment of any loom tax.¹⁵ In spite of exemptions granted to all the low class weavers, the collections from fasli 1231 to 1238 were about Rs. 68,000 per annum.¹⁶ The rates of taxes on looms and cloth were not uniform in all the districts or on all varieties in a single district. The duties were different for different varieties of cloth, cumblies, carpets, coarse or fine cloth. The average rate was Rs. 3-9-0 per loom, but this came to vary by the thirties from Re. 1/- to Rs. 2/- according to the quality of the cloth and cotton manufacturers. But in places like Rajahmundry, the number of looms increased from 4,601 in fasli 1231 to 10,000 in fasli 1240 and the assessment from Rs. 8,000/- to Rs. 16,000/-.¹⁷ The fate of the textiles was not only to face the heavy impositions, duties and chops. The cloth made even for home use was not exempted. Neither the weavers nor the tax collectors knew any limits for exemption, because it was not clear as to what was to be classi-

fied as cloth for home use and home-made cloth, because it was not known whether it meant the cloth to be used by the weaver and his family or the cloth woven from the cotton grown from his fields. This confusion led to much inconvenience and annoyance.¹⁸ A family of six according to the estimates of Sir Thomas Munroe, consumed cloth worth 30 fanams and duty on it came to 2 Madras fanams and 65 cash annually.¹⁹ The tax exemption was upto 60% of the cloth manufactured but was opposed even by men like Sir Thomas Munroe on the plea that it would encourage the manufacturer of cheap cloth, fraud in customs at the frontier choukies and if the exemption was introduced for the poor, it was difficult to find out 'the poorer section' who would deserve the benefit.²⁰ He even suggested the imposition of a town duty at 2½% on the value of the article while the existing duty was 5% by which the annual amount of customs payable by a family of 5 persons did not exceed 5 Madras fanams and 50 cash.²¹ Several devices were found to protect the Company from any defalcations of revenue from loom tax.²² Considerable trade in coarse cloth under the value of 1 pagoda used to be carried on in Cocanada for long and this was subjected to the usual impositions by 1803.²³ In Masulipatam, the sayer collectors used to visit the washing greens where the chops on cloth used to be put and the working looms of weavers at home to see that no piece of cloth escaped payment. Weekly account of cloth production from every loom used to be called for as an additional device to check the fraud, if any.²⁴ But the Company still wanted to tighten their measures to prevent all fraud. Each peon had to visit a number of villages under his range. The weavers of a village might take advantage of his absence to finish and sell away the cloth without being chopped commencing at the same time a fresh one to assure the peon that it was the same cloth which they began with, when he left on his rounds.²⁵ To prevent this, the sayer thanadars used to collect information from *karnams* (village officers) about the cloth woven on the looms. The chowki peons acquainted themselves with the number of pieces manufactured by each weaver and saw to it that the cloth was regularly brought to the thanadar for getting chopped.²⁶ The village washermen were asked not to wash or bleach unstamped cloth without giving prior intimation to the thanadars. Even rejected cloth was subjected to duty before it was sold and when returned from the copdar, the latter again had to pay the duties. Thus there were

duties, duties, duties everywhere in Vizag, Bellary, Nellore, and almost in every place in Andhra. The cloth could not be sold or purchased without paying duty again. Still the Company felt itself to be extremely considerate, because it did not insist on the weavers obtaining license chits if they wanted to weave.²⁷

At each chowky, the Customs servants gathered from the amildars, baghire visabady, a list of looms and the appropriate taxes on them. From this they prepared estimates of the collected produce and if the production fell short of the estimate, they visited the weaver's house, and took stock of the stamped cloth and that on the loom and enquired of the causes of diminished sale of chopped cloth. If unchopped cloth was detected with the weaver or the purchaser, he was severely dealt with. "This constant interference of the Company servants at every stage, proved vexatious and disgusting to the weavers." But, the Company thought it the best method to protect itself from revenue defalcation. It thought that "the simple rule of requiring each weaver not to part with his cloth until he sees it chopped at the chowkies, when he delivers it to the purchasers, is attended by no inconvenience to the people for each loom is within a reasonable distance of the chowky and as cloths are not allowed to be taken to any other chowky than to that to which the loom belongs, fraud is seldom attempted".²⁸ In Guntur, duties on cloth were collected on sale or when it passed through the chowkies.²⁹ In Rajahmundry, the method of chopping cloth was very vigorously enforced on the threat of severe penalty.³⁰ Several precautions were taken for preventing the cloth going direct from the loom without being brought to the house, and measures were taken to guard against any fraud by the weavers.³¹ Even the cloth made for home use was never exempted from duties even if its value was less than Rs. 2/-. The Company was against granting any concession to the weavers on the plea that it would greatly reduce the revenue as under the existing renting system, the money would only go to the pockets of the renters instead.³² About 996 washermen, paid each Re. 1/- till half of them who later on came under the Company rule were exempted.³³ After a time, the weavers and ryots in Nellore and Cuddapah were tired of the loom tax and stopped paying.³⁴ Hence Rajahmundry and Masulipatam started exempting cloth below Re. 1/- from duties, while Vizag gave exemption to all cloth below Rs. 2/-.³⁵ The little trade that survived all the persecution was diverted to Persia instead of to

England. The several impediments, that were thrown in its way from time to time, virtually threatened its existence. By 1850, a modification in the rates of duties was suggested dividing 6% total duty as 5/8 on land and 3/8 on sea custom. Again from the duties imposed on the export of piecegoods, a drawback of 2½% was suggested from the 5% while export merchants paid only 2½% recovering 2½% as draw back. The reform was too late as enough mischief was already done by this time. The chief part of the drawback was referable to the Persian Trade which had suffered considerably since the trade with England was opened.³⁶ The Andhra textile industry which was thus paralysed bit by bit by the Company roused the indignation of its own servants. As the collector of Masulipatam observed, the policy of reducing the transit duty on piecegoods from 5% to 2½% was only intended to carry the raw materials to England to manufacturers with modern machinery so that cloth could be returned to India to undersell the native manufacturers. The manufacturer in Andhra could not transfer his capital to another trade if undersold by the English manufacturer, but in the absence of demands for the finest and refined cloth, public wants were confined to a few necessities. Other collectors in Andhra also condemned the unjust policy of heavily taxing the weavers' looms and flooding the markets with British manufactures made by scientific and power driven machinery. Those efforts of the Company succeeded in reducing the number of weavers who were daily diminishing in number. The sayer revenue in Nellore and Ongole almost came to nil by the end of 1830, as the handloom industry almost came to an end excepting for a diminished turnover in Nellore, Ongole, Venkatagiri, Chirala, Etamukkala and Kottapatnam.³⁷ The piecegood merchants also stopped bulk purchases as British goods were comparatively cheaper and available in any quantity. English goods imported into Madras paid a custom duty of 2% while exports from Vizag had to pay 8%. Merchants had to pay a difference of 10% in Madras tariff at Vizag. While goods at Vizag were allowed no drawback, those sent to Calcutta were allowed a drawback of 5%.³⁸ Rajahmundry alone was an exception, where there was no competition for British goods. Consequently much of the trade in textiles was confined to the ports of Andhra from 1830 to 1840. Ganjam used to import goods worth annually Rs. 41,000/- and Rajahmundry Rs. 100,000/-, Masulipatam rupees seven lakhs, Guntur about one and half lakhs, Nellore and Ongole about Rs. 25,000/- and Ft. St.

George Rs. 6½ lakhs by 1835-36.³⁹ In Ceded Districts, too, the industry suffered a severe setback. By 1850, Bellary had about 30,000 looms, worked by the salis, the padamasalis, devangis, togetwars, hatachars, haracorams, chocornanys, curubas, nomecums, barbers, pariahs, each of them paying a general tax of Rs. 5-4-0 per head and Rs. 3-10-0 per loom.⁴⁰ The abolition of the commercial factories on the coast of Coramandel, the discontinuation of the British capital investment on private and public account, the lack of sufficient confidence in private enterprise to sink its funds on a venture with an uncertain future, the turning of tables by the fierce British competition in the shape of imports of machine made cheap goods, dealt a severe blow to the coastal textiles.

England was fast turning the Andhra districts into mere suppliers of raw cotton and a remunerative market for mill made British piecegoods. The manufacturers of Northern Circars for which they were once famous were almost abandoned. The value of the cloth exported from a port like Vizag fell from Rs. 7 lakhs to Rs. 1 lakh by 1844.⁴¹

The merchants were very hesitant to offer any advances to weavers for cloth making as the demand was uncertain and diminishing in the face of fierce competition by cheap English mill made goods. Thanks to the efforts of the Company, by the middle of the 19th Century, the Andhra weaver who used to be sought after with attractive advances by contending European rival mercantile agencies, was at last reduced to the state of approaching the native merchants for advances for work, only to meet with refusal.⁴²

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CHAPTER VII

OVERSEAS TRADE

The overseas trade of the Circars changed with the changing fortunes of their ancient textile industry. In the place of the European vessels at the ports of Kalingapatnam, Srikakolam, Bhimlipatnam and Vizag in the north, Coringa, Cocanada, Madapollam and Masulipatam in the south, which used to carry the handloom fabrics to England, France, Holland, French settlements, Denmark, Persia, Egypt, China, Iran, Iraq, the ports of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, there appeared innumerable small native craft manned by fishermen, carrying salt and coarse cloth to Bengal, Burma, Chittagong, or Yanam, bringing in return rice and paddy.¹

Foreign vessels used to come from French settlements, French West Indies, Malacca, Mauritius island, Bourbone, the Mediterranean, the ports of the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope bringing to the ports of Vizag, Coringa, Masulipatam, Madapollam, Ingeram and Cocanada metals, musical instruments, chinaware and cutlery, Medeirawine and spirits, gum, lac, pepper, condiments, spices, iron and steel, alum, drugs and many more foreign goods, taking in return goods available in these ports, like food grains, fruits, rice, cattle, horns, hides and oils and oilseeds. Ganjam and Vizag used to export boots, shoes, piecegoods, gingely oil, castor oil, skins, rum, sugar, tobacco, wax and other sundries. Carpets, horns, coconuts, boots, shoes, piecegoods, oils and tobacco, wood, ghee, cattle and fine muslins used to go from Rajahmundry and Masulipatam.² England was trying to flood the world markets with its cheap mill-made goods and to replace the chintzes of Masulipatam and the fashionable coastal fabrics with its own products in the Turkish empire and other Muslim countries.³ But this competition did not for some time affect the fertile trade of the coastal fabrics which were still at the zenith of their glory. Besides this extensive overseas trade, the Circars continued to be the granary of the province and used to carry through their rivers and navigable channels a rich commerce, in tobacco, salt, coconuts, palmyra, teak and timber, which were used for the construction of big vessels, and native craft of 60 to 100 tons used for Bengal-Burma trade.⁴

Ships of war or burden, of 500 tons and above used to be

built in the ports of Coringa and Naraspur, two of the branches of the Godavary. The practice of extensive shipbuilding providing 50,000 tonnage annually was of utmost importance to the maritime trade of the Northern Circars.⁵

Besides the trade with Europe, there was also a lot of inter-portal trade between Calcutta, Pegu, Burma, Yenam, Chittagong and with several other ports. This coastal traffic was of 3 kinds : (1) Trade with Europe and other foreign countries exporting food grains, horns, cattle, hides and skins in return for iron and steel, pepper, Medeirawine, woollen fabrics and alum ; (2) Trade with neighbouring Indian ports and (3) Salt trade with Bengal in return for paddy.

The trade of Circars with countries like England, France, Mauritius, Bourbone, Ceylon, Cape of Good Hope, mostly consisted of commodities like sugar, edible oils, grains, naval stores, piecegoods, plain clothes, chintzes and palempores. The trade with neighbouring ports was in fruits, grains, drugs, naval stores, timber betelnuts, ghee, coconuts, tobacco and other sundries. Re-exports from the ports of Circars were of chalk, copper, nails, sandalwood and a lot of goods to British settlements in India.⁶ From the beginning of the 19th century, the native dhonies used to carry goods from the ports of Coringa, Cocanada, Ganjam, Naraspur, Bhimlipatam, Vizag and Masulipatam, mostly consisting of food grains, important foodstuffs and rich produce. The exports were annually worth Rs. 50,000/- to 1 lakh. Imports of merchandise into Coringa, Ganjam, Guntur and Vizag used to be worth Rs. 53,000/-, Rs. 1,60,000/-, Rs. 63,000/- and Rs. 29,000/- respectively by 1804.⁷ These exports were mostly to the adjacent ports, to Nagore, Portonovo and Cuddalore and sometimes to Madras, Bengal, Burma, Ceylon and the British settlements. In 1805, the exports of the ports of Circars consisted of grains worth Rs. 17 lakhs, piecegoods worth Rs. 5½ lakhs, drugs worth Rs. 21,627/-, betelnuts worth Rs. 3,979/-, fruits worth Rs. 12,119/-, timber worth Rs. 15,334/-, woollens worth Rs. 5,192/-, ghee worth Rs. 10,354/-, coconuts worth Rs. 10,198/-, snuff and tobacco worth Rs. 18,975/-, sundries worth Rs. 65,943/- and treasure worth Rs. 65,350/-, while imports of grains, dyes, drugs, woollens, tobacco, timber and naval stores were comparatively smaller coming to Rs. 67,425/-.⁸ The total value of import and export trade in 1805 from the Circar ports in commodities, like liquors, metals, timber, gums, silks, tea, oils, stationery, pepper, sugar, fats, chinaware, glass, spices, turmeric, etc. came to about Rs.

6 lakhs.

During 1802-1806, the ports of Northern Circars carried a very valuable trade. The total value of imports into Northern Circars from Madras were worth Sicca Rs. 7,27,56,544/-, while exports were worth Rs. 1,11,638/-. Treasure worth Rs. 18,40,787/- was imported into Northern Circars while exported treasure was worth Sicca Rs. 1,02,258/-. As a whole, the overseas trade balance used to be in favour of Circars, during this period.¹⁰

Then there was the monopoly trade of Circars in salt, with the ports of Bengal, Burma, Chittagong and Yanam. There was no adequate tonnage, to meet the requirements of salt shipping, inspite of the partial handling of trade by the ports of Coringa, Cocanada and Nellore. Nellore was trying to have its own fleet to hold up to 200 garces of salt by 1808.¹¹ Cocanada had a surplus tonnage of 8½ lakhs of Bengal maunds as early as 1809. Masulipatam could meet any demand for tonnage.¹² Fine salt used to be available in Isakapally in Nellore while it had an effective labour base at Ramayapatnam.¹³ As duties on salt trade were abolished due to the famine, exact accounts of salt trade were not kept for all ports of Circars. By 1810, Ganjam, Vizag, Nellore, Cocanada used to export to Calcutta, 12,000 11,000, 1,46,400, 30,000 and 50,400 Bengal maunds of salt. Nellore salt used to meet the overseas demand, while Guntur salt used to meet the internal demand. The port of Masulipatam in 1812 used to send along with salt, excellent blue cloth to Amboiana, which wanted it for its freshness and fastness of colour.¹⁴

Ports of Coringa, Cocanada and Ingeram used to export rich timber to Burma, Chittagong, Pegu, Moulmein and Madras. The tariff prices of timber at Ingeram used to be very high. Teak logs of 1st, 2nd and 3rd sorts were costing Madras Pagodas 2.12.68, 2.0.0, and 1.19.23 respectively. The 1st, 2nd and 3rd sorts of teak used for carts was costing Madras Pagodas 17.6.34, 14.12.68, and 11.19.23 respectively. Ingeram and Coringa used to be international emporiums of timber trade. The prices of square and round logs too used to be very high.¹⁵

Salt was the main item of export to Bengal from the ports of Ganjam, Vizag, Guntur, Nellore and Rajahmundry. Coringa and Ingeram used to trade with the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, Calcutta and Madras, exporting grains, sugar, tobacco, snuff, rice, piecegoods, etc.¹⁶ The extensive overseas trade of Circars continued from the 1st to the 2nd decade of the 19th century. Ganjam, Vizag, Ingeram, Madapollam, Nellore and Ongole used

to have imports ranging from 6%, 99%, 36%, 12-16%, 99% and 74% from the neighbouring ports only. Similarly their exports too were mostly to the ports subordinate to Madras while exports to ports outside Madras were very few.¹⁶

The remaining trading ports were Vizag and Bhimlipatam, with their total exports worth Arcot Rs. 75,773/- and imports worth Arcot Rs. 52,521/- in 1811-12 with a favourable balance of Rs. 23,252/-. Cummin seeds, wheat, long pepper and Medeirawine used to be imported from Calcutta, coconuts, coir and couries, from Ceylon and Maldives Islands, while salt, coir and coarse cloth used to be sent to the ports of Calcutta, rice to Maldives Islands and indigo to London.¹⁷

Ingeram also used to have an export trade worth Rs. 62,864/- with favourable balance of Rs. 35,681/-. The overseas trade of Madapollam was not significant. It imported rather than exported in 1811-12. Even the overseas trade of Masulipatam was shrunk in this year and did not go beyond Calcutta and Basra, where it used to send piecegoods. Rice used to come from Calcutta along with raw silk, shawls and sugar. It used to exchange chay goods and snuff with coconuts of Maldives Islands. Nellore and Ongole used to export salt to Bengal, taking occasionally grain in return.¹⁸ The overseas trade of the ports of Circars was twofold. The Northern ports used to deal with Bengal and Malabar coast.¹⁹ Upto 1812, Masulipatam had an extensive export trade in punjam cloth of various descriptions, worth Rs. 3½ lakhs; chintz, cambroyi, dentie, handkerchiefs, palempores, moories, muslins and turbans were exported to Bombay and the Persian Gulf.²⁰ The exports to Madras from Northern Circars ports consisted of edible grains, rice, wheat, paddy, horsegram, oilseeds and indigo, worth Rs. 45,329/-, distilled rum of the value of Rs. 87,000/- from Ganjam, spirits and arrack from Ceylon. The country craft also used to bring to Madras from Circars long pepper, roots, shillins, lac, turmeric, chillies, firewood, coriander seeds etc.²¹ The re-exports consisted of European and chinagoods, intended for the military officers. They were the Medeirawine, portwine, Medeira claret, ale, brandy, oil, naval stores, tea, glassware, stationery, copper of various kinds, steel and hardware. Besides these, betelnuts, alum, cloves, benjamins, pepper, tin, diamonds, borax and arrack worth Sicca Rs. 63,593/- used to be exported from these ports.²²

The overseas trade of the Southern ports was very extensive, consisting of piecegoods from Madapollam, Ingeram,

Bandamoorlanka, Tuni, Coringa and Neelapilly, worth annually Sicca Rs. 15 lakhs, going to the markets in the East.²³ Even the ports of Ganjam, Vizag, Ingeram, Nellore and Ongole used to have rich import-export trade, with favourable balance of payments. The imports of Vizag consisted of silk thread, canvas, cummin seeds, rice from Calcutta ; and its exports consisted of indigo and long cloth to London and wax candles, piecegoods and salt to Calcutta.²⁴ The imports and exports of bullion were trifling.²⁵ From 1812-14, Ingeram too had enjoyed a favourable balance of trade. It used to import long pepper, rice, cummin seeds and wheat from Calcutta, which were worth Sicca Rs. 1,02,688/- and export items like izaries, dungaries, long cloth, rice, salt, coconuts, chay rumals to Calcutta and muslins and piecegoods to Pegu and London to the tune of Sicca Rs. £59,739/-²⁶ Madapollam ports used to import rice and sundries from Calcutta to the tune of Rs. 6,000/- and export to Bengal sundries worth Sicca Rs. 4,000/-. Exports of Masulipatam to Calcutta and Maldives Islands consisted of cumblies, carriages, salt, tobacco and bullion, while imports of duppats, kincobs, muslins and mushrooms, tafatas, raw silks, rice sugar, wheat came from Calcutta, betelnut, boiled rice, capewine, gold and silver bullion from Batavia, Ceylon, Maldives Islands and the East.²⁷ Nellore and Ongole used to import from Calcutta, rice worth Arcot Rs. 14 lakhs, sending in return by dhonies to Calcutta salt worth Arcot Rs. 52,857/- and red cloth worth Arcot Rs. 3,187/-²⁸ Guntur had also considerable land and sea trade. The native craft regularly carried salt from the coastal salt cotars to Bengal bringing in return rice and paddy. But after 1815, Bengal refused to buy more than 5 lakhs of maunds of salt and this affected the coastal salt trade adversely.

The salt trade of the Circars ports was with Burma, Bengal and the neighbouring Indian ports. The interesting features of this salt trade relate to the nature of the salt exports, freight policy, administration of salt trade, defects due to regional differences and effects of reduced price levels of salt on overseas trade.

Due to the fall in salt demand and deterioration in its quality, its manufacture in Circars had to be reduced. The sudden reduction in demand had serious repercussions on the salt manufacturers, traders and all those who plied the native craft for their livelihood. At the same time, the Board of Trade wanted to oust the native craft, substituting for them European vessels for carrying whatever trade remained. Thanks to the interest

taken by the Board of Revenue at Madras in the native craft, this attempt did not materialise, inspite of the persistence of the Board of Trade.²⁹ The Board of Revenue told the Board of Trade that the native craft was the only means of natural transport between the Circars, Bengal and Burma. These dhonies carried salt to Bengal and brought back grain to be delivered at several ports in times of famines, thus rendering a yeoman service. Only this native tonnage was natural to Indian conditions and suited well the Indian ports. Their continuance was in the general interest of trade and permanent interest of the Company. As such, the adventure of foreign shipping into the domain of native shipping trade was considered highly obnoxious and injurious to native interests. In the words of the Board of Revenue, "For the owners of the native craft, conveyance of salt and foodgrains was not a mere advantage but was their absolute existence."³⁰ The general reports of the Board of Revenue give many interesting details of this navigation controversy between the Home Government and the Board of Revenue. The Board of Revenue told the Home Government, that, if European vessels and the Company fleet were used in the coastal trade, that would amount to the Government coming down from its proper sphere of action and taking upon itself, a part of the business of its own subjects. Still, on the pretext, that the native craft might not be adequate to carry all the 8 lakh maunds of salt, required by Bengal, the Home Government wanted to use as a temporary measure, European tonnage to some extent. The Board of Revenue once again protested that the measure would severely injure the native shipping, undermining its monopoly.³¹ But, it could not prevent the Board of Trade ultimately reserving to itself, the right of using European tonnage, whenever the native craft was inadequate to satisfy extraordinary demand.

At the opening of the 19th century, salt trade with Bengal was very prosperous. The annual salt demand by 1807 was 15½ lakhs maunds, for consumption in Bengal alone. A premium of Rs. 3/- per Bengal maund used to be paid in advance, to attract the 2nd shipment, inspite of the prevailing high prices of 30 star pagodas per garce.³² Native craft from the sea ports of Ganjam, Vizag, Guntur, Nellore, Masulipatam, Nizampatnam, China Ganjam, Koduru, Mootapilly and Coringa used to carry salt cargoes to the Calcutta port. 'Margaret', 'Anne', 'Sir William Borough', 'Karim Bux' and 19 other European Vessels used to

take from Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and Nellore salt and piece-gods on their bottoms.³³ The native craft was obliged to take a 2nd trip to meet the shortages of tonnage till 1814. Later, the Bengal demand fell to 5 lakhs but gradually rose to 8 lakhs Bengal maunds by 1818. Vizag, Rajahmundry, Nellore and Tummalapenta were mostly catering to this export trade. White salt of Vizag was preferred to the brown salt which was not in demand in the Bengal market. At a stage, these exports reached 40 lakhs Bengal maunds by 1819. There was no dearth of native shipping. The quantity procurable in Coringa could be easily doubled to meet any extra demand.³⁴

State monopoly in manufacture and sale of salt required a vigorous administrative policy. Price fixation,, measurement, storage, standardised measures and prevention of fraud required a closely knit, able, administrative machinery. As lower salaries, with higher responsibilities usually meant weak official morality, a fair and liberal remuneration showed an increase in salt revenue. While the Government was anxious to increase the salt monopoly price, they were also eager to minimise the administrative expenditure.³⁵ While the Board of Directors were anxious to maintain a clear distinction between the public and private commercial concerns of the Company, the Board of Trade not only stoutly opposed this healthy measure, but also started advocating the extension of the nefarious practice of giving commission to Government officials, instead of paying them salaries from territorial revenue, as in the case of customs officials.³⁶ The Board of Revenue which started a series of investigations could not agree to this, as all its inquiries revealed, that existing defects were, chiefly due to overmeasurements by the subordinates, whose remuneration was low.³⁷ The nature of the salt monopoly itself, was responsible for the fraud and the financial misadventures. Salt monopoly was first introduced in 1805 by a regulation and actively came into effect on 11th July, 1806. According to this, salt should be purchased by Government from manufacturers and should be sold to public on their behalf at a monopoly price which was fixed in the first instance at 20 star pagodas or Rs. 70/- per garce. On 12th May, 1808, the office of the General Salt Agent was abolished. A commission of 1½% on the salt revenue was granted to Collectors and their head assistants in the proportion of 2/3rd and 1/3rd from fasli 1218 and these officers continued to manage the salt monopoly ever since. About 9th November, 1809, the general monopoly

price of salt was raised from 20 to 30 pagodas or Rs. 105/- per garce and it could not be sold at that price. From fasli 1224, the commission granted to the Collectors and their assistants was abolished. It was again revived when it was paid continuously from the beginning of fasli 1228, by about 18,000 star pagodas ; yet by the abolition of the general agency and other reforms, the charges were greatly reduced and the net receipts increased by 80,000 pagodas. Fasli 1222, the 7th year of salt monopoly, exhibited the highest salt revenue obtained. During the first 6 years of salt monopoly the revenue was in a flourishing condition.³⁸ But, as the Board of Directors soon changed the policy and directed to stop payments of commission to Collectors and their assistants and allowances to European superintendents, the revenue once again falling down rapidly. In fasli 1224, the revenue receipts fell off by Rs. 90,000/-. There was a further decrease of Rs. 30,000/- in fasli 1226 and a further decrease of 40,000 pagodas in the next year. This was due to a variety of causes, like the political disturbances in the country, the inability of the lambadies to come with their bullocks as usual, as they had to send their cattle to assist the armies to get goods, the exorbitant monopoly price itself which was raised to the peak to yield the maximum revenue for 5 years, the corrupt revenue officers who raised the sales to 80,000 pagodas after the restoration of the commission and their lack of enthusiasm when the commission was withdrawn. In spite of the Government monopoly in salt trade, the system of mirasi existed and the mirasdar was made responsible for the storing, measuring, guarding and keeping the salt ready for sale. If there was fraud and speculation, he was held responsible. Full price was never paid till it was actually sold and very often he was also committing theft from the store or was conniving at it. He had an exclusive right to it, till it was actually sold while the Government had not done anything to save wastage, or speculation or fraud, except levying a heavy excise duty at the time of sale, leaving a wide margin between the purchasing and selling price from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 12/- to Rs. 105/- per garce.

This continued high price in salt monopoly only helped to increase the fraud in overmeasurements. Among the veterans were also a few highly placed Brahmin employees like Bhatti-prolu Venkatrayadu, Adipudy Papayya, Tallapragada Chelamayya, who were allowing 50% to 60% overmeasurements, by accepting secret bribes from the purchasers. The prevention

of these defalcations and purification of the salt department proved to be too onerous a task for the English officers ; salt was left in big heaps and the European officers had a very ineffective check. The quantity received had been underestimated and the surplus privately sold. The organisation of the salt cotars had been admittedly defective and the Government felt that the defects were irremediable.³⁹

Government reduced the monopoly price of salt from Rs. 105/- to Rs. 70/- to increase its sales and also to stop fraudulent practices in the trade. This immediately increased the demand by 1828 to 18 lakhs maunds from Bengal alone.⁴⁰ The demand in the French settlements of Yanam increased from 9 garces to 17 garces. The price of salt in all the Andhra districts was Rs. 24/- per Bengal maund, except at Madras where it was Rs. 28/-. This reduction in price increased the demand by another 2 lakhs from Chittagong which was supplied by Vizag.⁴¹ Masulipatam, Rajahmundry and Nellore too had participated in this rich foreign trade. This rise in demand induced the Government to reduce the monopoly price from Rs. 42/- a garce to Rs. 35/- a garce, and subsequently in 1824 to Rs. 24/-. Shortly thereafter the price once again rose to Rs. 35/-. Vizag used to supply 1½ lakhs Bengal maunds, Rajahmundry 3½ lakhs, Nellore, Madras and Chinglepet 75,000 Bengal maunds in all about 6 lakhs maunds to Bengal besides the 2½ lakhs maunds to Chittagong. By 1850, the port of Vizag had 43 vessels, 38 native and 5 European, providing in all, a tonnage of 7,000, worth Rs. 2,65,000/- annually. Of these, 6 were entirely used for salt trade while others were employed in carrying goods up and down the coast.⁴² In Rajahmundry, there were 200 vessels of which 150 were exclusively for salt trade. The bigger vessels belonged to the rich merchants and were used for carrying the merchandise. The value of each salt vessel was about Rs. 3,000/- and the total value of native craft depending on salt trade alone was estimated at Rs. 4½ lakhs. Besides these there were the vessels which used to carry salt from the sea to the shore which was to the tune of Rs. 32,500/-.⁴³ This coastal traffic in salt was the chief means of livelihood to the seafaring population in Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and Vizag. In Ganjam, Vizag, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Guntur, Nellore, Bellary and Cuddapah, the price of salt varied from Rs. 119/- to Rs. 263/- between fasli 1246 to fasli 1250. The revenue consultations give figures of salt prices in each year in these places.

Besides salt, the native craft also carried from the Circars a lot of private merchandise by 1840, worth nearly 12 lakhs annually, besides grain and cereals worth Sicca Rs. 3,26,458/-⁴⁴ The manuscript records of this time give minute details of trade from year to year and port to port along with the value of different goods. The overseas trade of the ports of Northern Circars consisted of cashewnuts, coconuts, gunnies, grains, naval stores, oilseeds, piecegoods, lac, sugar candy, turmeric, sundries and a variety of other articles going out to Pegu, French Settlements, Yanam and Malacca Straits. In 1845, Ganjam exported by sea, cashewnuts, coconuts, oilseeds, horsegram, piecegoods sundries, etc., valued at Sicca Rs. 4,83,635/- to Pegu, Bengal, Vizag, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Nellore, Tanjore and Madras.

Exports : Vizag exported dyes, drugs, boxes, ivory, gingelly oilseeds, horsegram, goatskins, hides, horns, mustard seeds, oils, gum, cloth, punjam cloth, palempores, sheets of double thread, ghee, slippers, sticlac, sugar, tobacco, wax, turmeric and other sundries worth about Rs. 11 lakhs to foreign ports of Bengal, French Settlements, Malacca straits and Pegu, besides trading with the subordinate ports of Ganjam, Rajahmundry, Madras, South Arcot and Tanjore. The value of exports, from Vizag to foreign and other ports, not subordinate to Madras, came to Rs. 14,903/-, to Madras Rs. 8,03,683/-, subordinate ports Rs. 3,20,584/- and others Rs. 14,68,732/-.⁴⁵

The trade of Rajahmundry consisted of drugs, fruits, grains, leather, oil, piecegoods, cloth, provision, timber, woollens and treasure worth Rs. 8,25,637/-, and was carried on with foreign ports, like the United Kingdom, Bengal, French ports of Yanam, Malacca and the west coast of Sumatra and to the subordinate ports like Ganjam, Vizag, Masulipatam, Guntur, Nellore, Madras, South Arcot and Tanjore. Besides these exports, the overseas trade with foreign and other ports came to Rs. 13,90,299/-, and subordinate ports, to Rs. 28,337/-.⁴⁶

Masulipatam exported edible grains, wheat, skins, hides, horns, blue cloth, snuff bottles, turmeric and sundries, worth Rs. 17,24,122/- on private and Company account to Bengal, Vizag, Pegu, Rajahmundry, Madras and Tanjore. Guntur exported by sea, tobacco, garlic, salt, naval stores and treasure, worth annually Rs. 30 lakhs to Bengal, Burma, Malacca isles, as well as to the ports of Circars and Madras. The exports of Nellore to Bengal, Ganjam, Vizag, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Guntur

and Madras, consisted of drugs, foodgrains and naval stores, worth Rs. 6½ lakhs.

Imports: Besides this heavy export trade, the ports in Circars had also heavy import trade. They imported heavy machinery, mill cotton goods, wines, cutlery, iron, pepper and sundries from the U.K., French ports, Malacca Straits, French settlements, Mauritius, Bourbone and the subordinate ports of Madras. Ganjam imported corals from Bengal, paddy and rice from Pegu, gunny bags from Nellore and Madras, piecegoods from Tanjore and Madras, and sundries from Madras. Vizag imported paddy, shorrock, copper sheets, salt, Bengal paper and sundries from the U.K., Bengal, French settlements, Pegu, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Madras and Tanjore to the tune of Rs. 36,000/-.

The imports of Rajahmundry were alum and cotton thread, fruits, grains, gum and liquors, wines, metals, drugs, naval stores, teak and treasure, worth about Rs. 6,98,825/-, from Bengal, French Indian ports, Malacca Straits, Maldives Islands, Mauritius and the Bourbone, Pegu Circars, Nellore, Madras, Tanjore and South Arcot.⁴⁷

Masulipatam used to buy from Bengal, Pegu, French Indian settlements, and other native ports, borax, and chinaware, grains, and musical instruments, piecegoods and sandal wood, woollens, and sundries, worth Rs. 6½ lakhs annually. Bengal used to send alum, betel nuts, cotton twist, dried ginger, long pepper and fruits, while Pegu used to send adequate quantities of rice to Andhra districts.

Ganjam and Vizag used to send oilseeds, paddy and grains, while Madras was exporting glassware. Guntur used to import from Bengal, Pegu and other neighbouring ports jars, gunny bags, grains and other sundries worth Rs. 7½ lakhs.

Nellore's import trade was with the neighbouring Indian ports and Pegu. It was mostly in empty bottles, oilseeds, rice and fine sundries worth Rs. 8 lakhs annually. The nature and volume of overseas import/export trade of the Circars continued to be the same even in the succeeding years. Ganjam was exporting fruits, foodgrains, naval stores, piecegoods, ghee, sugar and sundries to the U.K., Bengal, French Settlements, Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and Bourbone and to the subordinate ports to the tune of Rs. 8 lakhs. Vizag exported drugs, grains, leather, liquors, piecegoods and provisions worth Rs. 11 lakhs annually to the U.K., Bengal, French Settlements, France,

Malacca Straits, Ceylon, Pegu and other ports of the Presidency. Rajahmundry used to export to these foreign and Indian ports, coconuts, goat skins, teak timber, tobacco, piecegoods and provisions worth Rs. 14 lakhs annually. Masulipatam's exports to Pegu, Ceylon, Mauritius, Bourbone and to the Indian ports consisted of edible grains, skins and hides, occasionally snuff and turmeric, worth annually Rs. 14 lakhs. Guntur's export trade was in coriander seeds, foodgrains, wheat, linseed, piecegoods and sundries to Ceylon, Mauritius, Bourbone and other South Indian ports to the tune of Rs. 17 lakhs. Exports of Nellore consisted of drugs, dyes, salt, saltpetre, naval stores, turmeric and paddy going to Bengal and other South Indian ports totalling Rs. 21 lakhs annually.

Another important export commodity was salt. From fasli 1215 to 1219, Masulipatam sold 1,314 garces of salt at the rate of Rs. 70/- a garce, and from fasli 1220 to 1229, the sales were 1,040 garces for Rs. 1,04,762/- at Rs. 105/- a garce. For eight succeeding years, the sales were 2,935 Madras garces at Rs. 70/- a garce. For fifteen years from 1829 to 1842, the price was Rs. 105/- and the sales were Madras garces 2,162 valued at Rs. 2,22,580/-. For five years from 1253 to 1257, the price was Rs. 120/- per Madras garce. About 2,646 garces were sold valued at Rs. 3,13,337/-. But there was a decline in the salt export trade after 1850. About 25 lakhs of people depending on salt trade in the salt cotars of the Circars, were severely hit by this depression.⁴⁸ In Rajahmundry, the average annual consumption of salt at Rs. 105/- a Madras garce had fallen 11½% below the off-take at the low price of Rs. 70/- per Madras garce. By 1849, there was a decrease in consumption by 396 garces, being 23% of the average annual consumption of the past 15 years.⁴⁹

By 1853, the exports of salt from Coringa to Nellore was much less than in previous years. Every port was sending not less than 1 or 2 lakhs maunds of salt till the thirties of the 19th century, while Coringa and Nellore alone could send 64,000 Madras garces and 1 lakh Bengal maunds without difficulty to Bengal.⁵⁰

The rich import/export trade was once again revived in 1851-52. Gunny bags and copper, iron bars, and spices were flowing into the ports of Ganjam from Bengal and foreign ports, valued at Sicca Rs. 1,15,022/-. Vizag was importing from the U.K., and France, Maldives Islands, Mauritius and the Bourbone, Pegu, and French ports, Bengal paper, cotton twist, fruits,

copper and glassware to the tune of Rs. 12 lakhs. Rajahmundry used to import from the U.K., Ceylon, France, Mauritius, Pegu, Bengal and the Indian ports, Bengal paper, cotton twist, glass jars, rice, bolts and pitch tar to the value of Rs. 5½ lakhs. Masulipatam used to import from Pegu, Aracan, Bengal, Malacca Straits and Indian ports, alum, cotton twist, cow tails, long pepper, paper, iron and steel to the tune of Rs. 7 lakhs. Guntur and Nellore used to import from Burma, Pegu, Aracan and Travancore paddy and rice to the tune of Rs. 8 lakhs. In return, there was also a rich export trade. Ganjam used to send out grains, rice, horns, jaggery, hides, gingely oil, sugar, turmeric and sundries to the U.K., France, West Indies and subordinate ports of the presidency. The value of the exports came to Rs. 4 lakhs. Vizag was sending out boots and shoes, piecegoods, ghee, horns and hides, gingely and castor oil, mustard, skins, rum, sugar, tobacco, wax and sundries worth Rs. 13 lakhs to the U.K., France, Maldives Islands, Mauritius and Bourbone. Rajahmundry was exporting chillies, carpets, piecegoods, coconuts, ghee, grains, gunnies, horns, oilseeds and tobacco worth Rs. 10 lakhs to the U.K., France, Pegu, Mauritius and Burma, West Indies, Malacca Straits, Bengal and other Indian and French ports.⁵¹

Exports from Masulipatam, Guntur and Nellore consisted of cloth, piecegoods, oilseeds, tobacco, salt and snuff worth Rs. 27 lakhs each to Bengal, Pegu and other Indian ports. By the middle of the 19th century, the imports began to be thrice the volume of exports. The vexatious and heavy duties and the anxiety of the Company for more and more revenues were also responsible for the fall in trade. Several collectors pleaded for their reduction in vain.

Even the rich salt trade by native craft was adversely hit and individual adventurers began to buy and sell the commodity. The owners of the native craft of the Coramandal coast went with their boats loaded with salt to Calcutta, Chittagong and other ports of Bengal, remained in the Hooghly till the monsoon and returned with the Aracan rice. But the import duty on rice and paddy rose from 15% to 30%. Several public petitions were made protesting against these heavy duties on overseas trade. On the contrary, the exorbitant duty levied on grain was extended to goods in transit from one port to another even in the same district.⁵² Ganjam had pleaded for some distinction in import and export trade duties on rice and paddy as rice

was a processed article while paddy was not.⁵³ The Government did not agree. Several collectors termed this policy of the Company as 'ruinous' to import trade, as the prohibitive duties on imported rice made its sale impossible in times of famine. The Vizag Collector pleaded for maintaining the internal price level of paddy and rice at a low level, by importing rice from Pegu and Aracan, as the existing high prices were not only driving people to cheaper kinds of foodstuffs, the heavy import duty on coastal sea traffic was diverting trade from sea to land.⁵⁴ Consequently the interportal overseas trade was seriously handicapped and hit the agriculturist adversely. The collectors of Rajahmundry, Ganjam, Vizag, etc., seriously protested against this policy, but the Company paid no heed. On the other hand, the import duty, authorised by the Act VI of 1844, of 3% on shipment of rice and paddy was raised to the uniform rate of 1 anna per maund of rice and paddy.⁵⁵ The representations made to the Board of Revenue for a relaxation of duties on interportal trade of the Presidency to induce the small merchants with little capital to participate in this trade, failed to produce any effect.⁵⁶

The Customs regulation by the Act VI of 1848 went further in abolishing the difference between the duty collected on goods imported and exported in foreign ships and that collected on goods carried from one port to another of the Company's territories, even though this country had the right to export her surplus production except opium and salt, to every country in the world. Some of the typical protests against this policy found an echo in the condemnation of the Collector of Vizag who said, "While statesmen in Great Britain have been lowering duties on the products of the British possessions, in the Economist's jargon, greasing the springs of industry, removing all duties on bread and foodstuffs, blotting the corn and provision laws from the Statute Book, colonial governments in the East Indies, of late years, are placing fresh restrictive duties on exports from British India, particularly on articles like foodstuffs, counteracting apparently to some extent the intentions and policy of the Imperial legislature". Instead, therefore, of taking precautions to prevent small illicit gains of some of the traders under cover of the Acts VI and VII of 1848, he suggested that duties on Indian exports should be wholly abandoned, salt and opium excepted. He said, Indian trade was never in such depressed a condition and it required relief from legislation, founded upon enlightened principles.⁵⁷

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CHAPTER VIII

INLAND AND FRONTIER TRADE

The internal commerce of the Andhra districts consisted of :
(1) Inland, and (2) Frontier trade.

Inland Trade

In the absence of modern means of transport, animals were used to carry the goods of trade. Huge caravans of bullocks and bulls led by lambadies used to carry cotton, silks, chay thread, silver, betel leaves, coconuts, jaggery, etc., between Hyderabad, Carnatic, Bangalore, Poona, the Mahratta kingdoms of Berar, Nagpur and Bombay. Goods like pepper, flax, red, white and different kinds of cloth, sugar and opium, were sold on the way during their journeys ; and sometimes, they were exchanged for the salt of the Circars. They used also to carry to distant parts like Madhya Pradesh and Berar, paddy, oilseeds, tobacco, rice, maize and other foodstuffs.¹

The lambadies used to sell at high prices in the inland rural districts, what they bought cheap in the ports. At every village corner, people bought from them, groceries, cloth, salt and copper.

Farm produce sellers and oil mongers, cotton manufacturers and raw cotton sellers, barter agents of cotton and salt, dealers in salt cured fish, pan and betel leaf sellers and monopoly merchants in sundries, condiments and spices, all used to meet in prominent local fairs, offering their wares for sale to the villagers who gathered there to make their weekly purchases. Bullock carts used to come from every part of Andhra. Cattle fairs were another rich adjunct of these weekly transactions. The fairs at Guntur, Masulipatam, Ellore, Ernagodem and Dummagudem were important. There were weekly fairs at Peddapuram, Pithapuram, Juggiahpet, and there were cattle fairs at Nellore, Ongole, Palacole, Ambajipet and Palmaner.

The Company tried to organise trade through these customary fairs by removing vexatious duties and affording the inhabitants of Guntur, Palnad, Cuddapah and Ongole an opportunity to exhibit and sell their products. But there was no proper market accommodation with stalls, sheds, or shelters at any of

these fairs. All the same, the toll-gate fees were rigorously collected from the merchants,² who assembled at these market fairs. The pindaries who were the main carriers of inland trade and who gathered at these fairs enjoyed some exceptional privileges. At a particular stage, they refused to pay even the pullari tax or the grazing fees that used to be collected from all the rest in Palnad. Their impudence and their indifferent marches through the ripe corn fields with their bullocks, destroying the rich harvest annoyed the zamindars, who sometimes killed the bullocks and their owners in Palnad, Guntur and Masulipatam, leading to severe skirmishes with the gangs. The lambadies or the pindaries were immune from all punishments as the Company conceded to them a virtual monopoly of all inland trade and exempted them from all inland customs and duties. This privileged position emboldened the lambadies to carry their trade with cunning and cruelty, wherever they went.³

Tuni, Bezwada, Cocanada and Rajahmundry were great commercial centres while Nellore, Ongole and Guntur were well-known cattle-markets.⁴ The Nellore and Ongole breed used to cost 6 to 9 st. pagodas per pair. By 1818, 2,000 to 3,000 cattle used to go annually from Nellore to Ceylon, Brazil, and the South American countries.

Fish, either cured by sea water or earth impregnated with saline waters and subsequent exposures also used to be available for sale. In 1857, the export of salt fish exceeded the quota of 15,000 maunds. In Vizag its manufacture increased from 32,000 maunds to 60,000 maunds and in Rajahmundry from 200 candies to one lakh of pounds by keeping it in water and straining it with salt. Salt cured fish used to be exported from Vizag to Hyderabad, Nagore and Nagpur. The exports of Nellore alone to Madras, Cuddapah, Bellary and Chinglepet used to come to 1,672 candies. Milk, curds, buttermilk and dairy produce used to be carried for sale by the shepherd girls in every town and village.⁵

There were no market sheds in the villages. Greens and vegetables grown on the village farms, used to be sold in the lanes, village maidans and temple backyards. There were no commission agents acting as intermediaries between the producers and consumers.

The native non-vegetarians mostly ate fish while mutton was used by the European troops. Table sheep of the 1st and 2nd varieties used to be sold for As. 12/- and As. 8/-, while kids

were sold for As. 4/- per head. In Guntur, 1,240 sheep of the 1st sort, 108 of the 2nd sort and 84 kids used to be the daily requirement of Europeans since 1817.

The average price per candy of salt-cured fish was Rs. 3-4-0 ; the annual tax on their sale used to come to Rs. 220/-. Still the profits of the fishermen were very high. The purchase of salt at monopoly price was the only tax the fisherman had to pay besides the tax on nets. Salt required for curing 1 candy of fish was 90 seers costing Rs. 2/-, while he sold the cured fish at Rs. 18/-. If the fisherman himself took the produce to the market, he used to sell upto Rs. 30/-. Besides these profitable sales, the fishermen used to earn a good deal, by loading and unloading the vessels and carrying firewood to Madras in their dhonies, the returns of which were adequate to cover the wear and tear of the nets and dhonies. Hence the Company thought it unnecessary to reduce the monopoly price of salt for their sake.

Oils and Oilseeds : By 1855, the Andhra districts used to produce a variety of oils and oilseeds. The Ceded Districts were known for their scented hair oils and perfumes, besides oil like castor oil used for medicinal and lighting purposes, gingely oil used for cooking, ghee for lighting in temples and lamps, cooking and eating, ippa and agasha oils for varnishing purposes, and kusumba oil for cultivation purposes.

Gingely oil was freely available in Vizag, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary, though the extent of land cultivated and the price of oils and oilseeds varied from place to place. In Vizag, 27,000 acres of crop used to produce 8,000 maunds of oil sold at Rs. 2/- per maund. Nellore used to sell 2,075 gallons valued at Rs. 3-1-3 per maund, Cuddapah, 468 candies valued at Rs. 60/- per candy and Kurnool, 100 maunds valued at Rs. 2-4-0 per maund.⁶

Ganuga oil was in use in Vizag and Masulipatam, which used to produce 10,000 maunds on 35,000 acres and sold at Rs. 1-8-0 per maund.

Castor oil or lamp oil was another rich product available abundantly in Vizag, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Guntur, Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary. In 1853, Vizag used to sell 10,000 maunds at Rs. 2/- per maund, Rajahmundry 22,273 gallons on 20,000 acres, valued at Rs. 0-4-3 per measure, Masulipatam 560 maunds at Rs. 2-8-0 per maund and 560 maunds of Chittamudam at Rs. 2-8-0 per maund, Guntur 4,400 candies on

31,242 acres at Rs. 25/- per candy, Nellore 3,342 maunds at Rs. 2-7-5 per maund, Cuddapah alone about 12,000 candies valued at Rs. 80/- and Rs. 45/- per candy, Kurnool 1,000 maunds at Rs. 12/- per maund and Bellary 2,000 maunds at Rs. 5/- per maund.

Cotton seeds: Cotton seeds oil was available in Vizag, Guntur, Nellore and Bellary. Vizag used to cultivate on 10,000 acres cotton seeds oil valued at Rs. 1-8-0 per maund and Guntur 31,242 acres producing 100 candies of oil valued at Rs. 40/- per candy. In Nellore the price was Rs. 2-8-0 and at Bellary Rs. 3/- per maund.

Ippa oil: Ippa oilseeds and oil were available in Vizag, cultivated on 10,000 acres, producing 10,000 maunds of both. The price of oil was Rs. 1-8-0 per maund.

Neem oilseeds were grown in Vizag, Masulipatam, Cuddapah, and Bellary. In Vizag, over 10,000 acres were under neem, producing 20,000 maunds of oil, valued at Rs. 2/- per maund. In Masulipatam, the quantity available was small and price higher, Rs. 4/- per maund. In Cuddapah, the price was Rs. 60/- per maund and in Bellary Rs. 3/- per maund.

Avisi seeds and valasaloo used to be grown in Vizag, on 10,000 and 35,000 acres respectively and the price of oil was Rs. 1-12-0 and Rs. 2/- per maund respectively.

Bali rakkasa and Nepal Flower were also available in Vizag to the tune of 400 maunds each, valued at Rs. 1-12-0 per maund. The extent of acreage under both was not known.

Coconut oil was freely available in Rajahmundry, Amalapuram, Relangi, Masulipatam, Cuddapah and Bellary. Rajahmundry and its talukas used to produce very large quantities, to the extent of 83,000 gallons valued at Rs. 0-5-3 per measure. In Masulipatam, the price was Rs. 4-12-0 per maund, Rs. 100/- per candy in Cuddapah and Rs. 3/- per maund in Bellary, where about 500 maunds used to be available.

Carugari tilloo and margosa oil seeds used to be grown in Rajahmundry and Nellore. While the Carugari tilloo was sold at Rs. 0-4-6 per measure, Margosa oil used to cost As. 3/- in Rajahmundry and Rs. 1-13-0 in Nellore per maund. The produce of Rajahmundry was not more than 5 gallons, while Nellore used to produce about 1,583 maunds.

Iloopa oil seeds were grown in Nellore, Kurnool, and oil used to be sold at Rs. 1-14-4 and Rs. 2/- per maund.

Coconut oil: Coconut oil used to be sold at Rs. 2/- per

maund in Nellore. Kusumba oil was sold at Rs. 60/- per candy in Cuddapah, and Rs. 2/- per maund in Kurnool.

In Masulipatam, *China avisa* oil was available in any quantity and used to be sold at Rs. 3-8-0 per maund. Brahmadandi was available in any quantity and used to be sold at Rs. 3-8-0 per maund. *Pig and fish* oils were comparatively costlier and they were sold at Rs. 40/- and Rs. 21/- per maund. *Agasi* oil in Kurnool used to be sold at Rs. 2-8-0 per maund. Inferior *sesame* oil and *safflower* oil used to be available in Bellary to the tune of 100 and 500 maunds, sold at Rs. 3/- and Rs. 2-4-0 per maund. Ghee was also abundantly available throughout the Andhra districts. Bellary used to sell 4,000 maunds, valued at Rs. 5/- per maund. Besides these, there were also available *cucumber* oil, *neem* oil, *wood* oil, *sandalwood* oil, *camphor* oil, *sampangi* oil, whose quantities and prices were not exactly known.⁷ Vizag had oils enough for internal consumption. Castor oil in Rajahmundry, gingely oil and lamp oil in Masulipatam were the staple products. Guntur used to grow 4,400 candies of castor oil. Nellore also used to produce plenty of lamp oil, illopa oil, and margosa oil. The speciality of Ceded Districts lay in perfumes and scented oils like *jasmine*, *Mallepoo*, *Prabhatam* and *sandalwood*, prepared and sold by women.

Indigo was another important commodity which was yielding rich profits, but the difficulties of transport acted as a heavy drag on internal trade. Kurnool was a rich oil trade centre where all types of oils for medical use, cooking and lighting, oils for varnish and for cultivation purposes could be had for the mere asking from any bania's house. Bellary produced oils and oilseeds only for internal consumption for medicinal uses and for lighting, for hair, for cooking, dyeing, painting and perfumery.

Salt : Salt was produced and sold throughout Andhra, from Ganjam to Nellore, under strict State monopoly. The Ponarca and Pandarca salt farms, salt pans of Vizag, Rajahmundry, Coringa, Cocanada, Masulipatam, Guntur, Nellore and the neighbouring districts used to meet the internal demand, besides meeting the overseas demand of Chittagong, Aracan and Calcutta. Lambady caravans used to carry it on pack bulls and bullocks, to sell it in the villages. The extraordinary demand and the monopolistic nature of the trade tempted the Company to increase the salt price, to make more profits, but the fears of adverse effects on trade discouraged this attempt, especially as

most of the Collectors opposed it.⁸

The monopoly price of salt varied from place to place. In Pithapuram, it was st. pag. 1.26.9 a garce, and in Neelapilly 2.6.34 st. pag. The charges of exportation varied from place to place. Besides this, the trade had to suffer the imposition of excessive duties and frequent stoppages in transit for detection of fraud and overmeasurements. The impolicy of specifying the routes of rawanas only led to the clogging of trade and plundering by the customs officials.

Excessive measurement of salt for a paltry bribe to the servants was a common feature in all the salt cotars from Ganjam to Nellore. Salt sales in China Ganjam, Peda Ganjam and Coderu exceeded the exact measurements by 46% to 55% on average, while in Guntur and Kanuparty it was more by 30% and on average came to 23%.⁹

A committee that was appointed to inquire into the malpractices of salt trade gave an exceedingly optimistic verdict. They said that the excessive measurements were due to the differences in the measure, even though they knew that it was deliberate. The committee tried to whitewash the blemish by saying "the salt department has ever afforded a fine field for speculation. Even under the best management, it would be impossible to prevent fraud. Its detection is particularly impossible as intelligent servants and manufacturers combine to cheat the government."¹⁰ The dismissal of a few servants in the salt pans of China Ganjam, Peda Ganjam and Koderu did not deter the others from continuing overmeasurement upto 45%.¹¹ Inspite of a strict official stipulation as early as 1818, that 60 seers should be allowed to the parrah, the servants continued issuing excesses upto 75%, defending that they were doing it under the authority of their supervisors.¹² There were instances where only 10 out of 35 garces were brought to account. The committee had only recommended an extensive reorganisation of salt trade and the Government contended themselves by asking the Collectors to be more careful in their supervision.

By the end of 1818, salt used to be purchased on an approximate idea of the heap from the manufacturers at Rs. 6/- per garce at Ganjam, Rs. 7/- at Mansurkota and Ichapuram, and at Rs. 5/- at Umrapally. At Nowpada, 150 men were engaged in salt production, each receiving Rs. 5/- per garce. They and their families used to be paid Rs. 1/2/- on the estimated garces of heaps. On the proposed production, salt makers used to be given

advance of 12% at Ganjam, 23% at Mansurkota, 26% at Ichapur, 18% at Nowpada and 16% at Umrapilly. While the cost price was Rs. 105/- a garce, it used to be sold at Rs. 115/- and Rs. 130/- a garce inclusive of hire, carriage and wastage.¹³ In Vizag, the salt makers used to be paid Rs. 7/8/- per garce, while the Government sold it for inland consumption at Rs. 105/- a garce. The salt makers in Pithapuram used to get Rs. 6/-, in Neelapilly Rs. 7/8/-, and Rs. 8/- in Mogeltore and Kurupam. Most of the salt used to be exported to Bengal and Burma. Each district was self-sufficient in salt production. The villagers had their own cotars, making the salt they required on the coasts of Ganjam, Mansurkota, Ichapur, Nowpada and Umrapilly.

The wholesale and retail prices of salt varied much. While the wholesale price was Rs. 105/- a garce in Berhampore, the retail price was Rs. 124/5/7. At Aska, the wholesale price was Rs. 70/-, while the retail price was Rs. 95/5/6. When the salt was selling at a wholesale price of Rs. 105/- per garce, the retail price was Rs. 121/10/2 per garce. Even when the wholesale price fell from Rs. 105/- to Rs. 70/-, the retail price never came down because of the high demand.¹⁴ By 1818, Nellore used to produce brown salt adequate for the consumption of all the villages. Canuparty used to make 150 Madras garce, Buggarajupatnam 50 m.g., Kistnapatnam 416 m.g., Ekapilly 35 m.g., Gograpally 200 m.g. and Govedanda 15 m.g., in all 866 m.g.¹⁵ Masulipatam and talukas under it also used to produce adequate salt and sell at different rates. The average retail price of salt varied in different places from Fasli 1226 to Fasli 1230. At Masulipatam, the price varied from Rs. 115/6/- to Rs. 150/- per garce, in Juggiah-peta, from Rs. 207/- to Rs. 126/-, Nandigama Rs. 133/- to Rs. 203/-, Vuyyur Rs. 112/- to Rs. 150/-, Kondapally Rs. 134/- to Rs. 200/- and Noozveed from Rs. 169/- to Rs. 212/-¹⁶

By 1849, the revenue of the salt department dwindled for a variety of reasons, like the cyclone in 1823, the great famine of 1833, the dearth of population, the abolition of the commercial factories, and the consequent reduction in employment opportunities, the declining wealth of the zamindars and sahukars who stopped giving free salt to Brahmins, changing social conventions and discontinuing feeding of cattle with salt due to high prices. In 1850, the sudden overflow of the sea resulted in large quantities of salt formation which was sold cheaply.¹⁷ The proposals to institute an excise system, by the middle of the sixties in the place of the existing monopoly method, was stoutly

opposed by several Collectors.¹⁸ Nellore doubted whether, under the excise system, there would be sufficient and constant supply of salt by the private persons for home and inland sales as well as for export to Bengal and Chittagong. Even if the required quantity was produced and kept, the next difficulty was how so large an amount of duty was to be levied and collected as few places had sufficient capital to pay the excise before it was disposed of. Guntur and Vizag opposed the charge on the plea that, when once the prices were fixed and the purchaser paid the price, he was free from further demands. The utter impossibility of checking extortion and fraudulent practices by the excise men was considered to be a conclusive reason against its introduction.¹⁹ Rajahmundry considered the change unnecessary and suggested the division into salt and Abkary by placing them under two different authorities and starting inland salt depots.²⁰ There was opposition from Masulipatam too and ultimately the contemplated measure of reform had to be dropped.²¹

Salt and tobacco trade : The combined sales of salt and tobacco went unchecked in Masulipatam. There were no restrictions on their sales and supply in Cuddapah and Kurnool. No compulsory measures were taken to cause carts and bullocks to resort to caravansaries or enclosures nor any fees levied to accommodate travellers and merchants in the public choultries of the districts. In Masulipatam, they were offered for sale in the open market. Ceded Districts used to grow a good deal of cotton, which used to be bartered for salt by the lambadies.²² The decline of the cotton textile industry not only reduced the demand for cotton, but even turned it to exports as in Cuddapah to the tune of st. pag. 555. Internal consumption was on the brink of extinction due to the decline of the textile industry in the Circars. The variable cotton investments there, the fluctuating demand, the reduction in some cases and abolition in others of factories, the falling demand from the Dutch and the French at Jagannaikpuram and Yanam, the diminishing production of cotton by the weavers, all contributed one by one to the breakdown of internal cotton trade. Added to these were the fraudulent practices in the salt cotars, the high monopoly price, the malpractice of overmeasurement, the confusing reforms, the unrest in the territories of the Maharattas and the utter inadequacy of other means of communications, which aggravated the dislike of lambadies to come with bales of cotton to the local salt cotars. Besides, there were the continued malpractices in the cotton

markets of Cuddapah and Kurnool, of mixing inferior varieties of cotton with the good ones to exploit the innocent purchasers.²³

Fibres like jute, gogunara, plantain, gunny flax, hemp, cotton coir, coconut coir, palmyra flax, yepa, laga, jilledu, marrelu were grown in the several districts to meet the high demand of the European markets. Ganjam used to grow very little native or foreign fibres, as there was no attractive inducement to the cultivators.^{23a} Only crops like rosella fibre, jute and coconut fibre which would be useful to boats and boatmen were grown from the advances given by the European merchants who used to finance the fibre crops. Almost all the produce went to meet the rare internal demand, except 42 maunds bales of jute flax, 204 gunny bags of rosella fibre and 45,200 coconut fibres which appeared in the export list. Gumsur and Russelkonda were famous for their quality flax and hemp which were useful in making gunny bags and ropes.

Jute flax was available in Vizag, Rajahmundry, Guntur and Nellore over a wide area. Its price varied from Rs. 12/12/- to Rs. 14/- per candy in Vizag, Rs. 0/15/9 per maund in Rajahmundry, Rs. 15/- per candy in Guntur and Rs. 1/3/3 in Nellore.

Gogunara was Rs. 4/- per candy in Vizag, Rs. 0/8/- per maund in Rajahmundry, Rs. 15/- in Guntur, and Rs. 0/1/4½ per maund in Nellore.

Plantain and cotton coirs were valued at Rs. 12/- to Rs. 14/- per candy in Vizag. In Rajahmundry coconut coir was Rs. 0/6/6 per maund and Rs. 2/8/9 for cotton coir. In Nellore, the respective prices were Rs. 2/- and Re. 1/- per maund. Plantain coir was Rs. 12/- per candy in Vizag, Rs. 2/8/- in Rajahmundry, and Rs. 2/- in Nellore. Guntur used to offer fibres of yepa, laga, palmyra and coir too; their prices used to vary from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 15/- per candy.

Guntur used to grow gogunara, useful in making gunnies, twine and ropes at Rs. 2/- per maund, besides 16,000 candies of cotton adequate for local consumption. Stalks of palmyra trees were cut and bruised in a raw state by the local inhabitants of the coastal villages to use them for cordage. In Inaconda and other villages of Palnadu, the bark of yepa tree, the branches of saga tree, the rind of the coconut and the stalks of the plantains were used for cordage by the ryots, but sales of these articles on any extensive scale could not be made due to lack of transport facilities except in dry weather. The growth of these plants was also not very satisfactory.

In Bellary, 2,000 maunds of Poondi nara, at 48 cutcha seers per maund used to be grown mixed up with cholam. Its leaves were used for curing and 1,000 maunds were left for the use of ryots while the other 1,000 maunds were sold at As. 8/- per maund. Jute was twisted to make gunnies which were freely sold in the weekly market. Old gunnies were often sold to paper manufacturers and fibres were sold at Rs. 1/8/- per maund. In all 400 acres of land produced 12,000 maunds, i.e., 3 maunds of fibres per acre. This quantity was enough for internal consumption. Coconut coir was used for making rope, pack saddles and beds. At the rate of 100 trees per acre, about 3,420 acres were planted with coconut trees and the land was assessed at Rs. 57,500/-. A few other fibres like Ippa and akkisa also used to be grown in Bellary but they were not very prominent.²⁴ Nellore too had a good fibre trade.

Teak timber: Coringa, Narsapur and Masulipatam used to trade in teak-timber coming through the freshes of the Godavary, mostly towards Bhadrachalam. Small quantities of superior teak 20 to 25 ft. long and 12" in diameter used to be sent to Masulipatam. 400 to 500 logs of Kondapally teak, valued at Re. 1/- per foot, used to be cut near Palasa and brought to Masulipatam for sale. Teak of better and larger quantities used to be available in Coringa.²⁵ The teak forests were 70 miles from Rajahmundry in the Cammammetta Circar in the territories of Hyderabad. Persons requiring timber had to send their agents who gave the necessary advances to the people to cut and deliver it on the banks of the Godavary.

The timber available was divided by the natives into two categories, (1) the tundoos (logs) and (2) the cuddies, the former varying in length from 12 ft. to 18 or 20 ft., yielding planks of 12 ft. to 18 ft. The cuddies ranged from 24 ft. to 30 ft, and gave planks of 6" to 8". The price of the former at Coringa was Rs. 8/4/- and the latter Rs. 2/14/-. Usually the period from June to December was favourable for the purchase of timber when the freshes in the Godavary allowed them to be easily brought down the river. In a season 2 to 3 thousand cuddies could be procured and in case of demand, even larger quantities could be got by additional efforts. Hyderabad servants procured better timber 50 ft. in length, yielding planks of 20". These logs, fastened together with chains, were turned to drift their way down the stream and their cost was Rs. 150/- to Rs. 155/- each. The purchaser or his agents used to follow the logs in the river

from the banks, to protect them from theft on the way.²⁶

These tundoos and cuddies used to cost at Coringa Rs. 4/- and Re. 1/- respectively. On tundoos, the russum was As. 8/-, Nizam duty Rs. 1/8/-, soornadayam at Repally As. 8/-, the charges by the hill Reddies between Nizam territories and Company territories As. 4/-, charges at Polavaram As. 2/- and charges of transport to Coringa As. 12/-, in all making the tundoos cost each Rs. 8/-. Similarly the cuddies had to pay soornadayam Re. 1/-, charges by Reddies As. 2/-, hire duties at Polavaram As. 6/- and at Coringa As. 6/-, ultimately making them cost Rs. 2/14/- at Coringa thus enhancing the original price considerably.²⁷ By 1841, 1,023 teak timber pieces used to come for sale to Coringa from Rangoon. These were valued at Rs. 6,262/- and consisted of a series of varieties like the spars, yardpieces, slim beams, duggaries, bindoos, arties, sheathing boards and boards 1" and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick.²⁸

Timber forests in Vizag, Guntur, Masulipatam or Nellore were insignificant. There were a few jungles towards Kondavidu and Palnadu in Guntur. In the northwest corner of Palnadu towards Kurnool, large sized palmyras and timber used for agricultural purposes, ploughs, carts and wheels were available for sale.²⁹ Though Vizag had a few topes and ornamental timber, there were no extensive forests. Nellore and Masulipatam had no forests worth the name.³⁰ Ultimately, the sharpest trade remained to be that of Rajahmundry.³¹ Even here, the people never took sufficient precautions to exploit the rich commercial possibilities of timber trade. They never opened any communications into the forests, cut the timber they required from the banks, and carried on a wanton destruction of forests for 40 years, without ever going into the interior to explore further possibilities. There were in Ceded Districts, between Cumbam and Kurnool, a sprinkling of jungles of redwood and teak timber used for the housing of regiments in Bellary.

The Nallamalai hill ranges divided the passes of Deopaud and Cumbam. Not more than 10 logs, 10 ft. to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in length, were available for sale, but the distance from Bellary by any road was 240 miles, the transportation charges alone coming to Rs. 100/- or more.³²

The huge inland trade was gradually declining towards the sixties of the 19th century. The decay of zamindars, the changes in administrative reforms, the withdrawal of the British troops, the anxiety of the English Company officials to amass large

fortunes to carry them home, were some of the causes that were responsible for the decline of this trade. Gradually, the Brinjaries, who were the main carriers of inland commerce, also became out of date due to the prevalence of law and order and improved means of communications. The increase in the number of traders, the decline in the cloth trade and the depression in prices had adversely affected their profits, at least in two districts, Guntur and North Arcot.³³ Still, if the inland and frontier trade was kept alive, the credit must entirely go to the Brinjaries or the Lambadies who were the main carriers of commerce in those days.

Frontier Trade

There flourished a profitable trade by the beginning of the 19th century, between the Northern Circars and Maharashtra and sometimes between the Ceded Districts, the Carnatic Payenghat, Bangalore, Bombay and Deccan. Too often this frontier trade was made subject to inter-state commercial regulations.

Several ineffectual efforts were made to stimulate trade by abolishing vexatious duties on goods in transit. The repeated representations of commercial interests and the lambadies only helped to increase rather than reduce the existing duties, both in the Circars and the Ceded Districts.³⁴

An exact assessment of the old frontier trade is difficult as the zamindars and poligars never kept any regular accounts for fear of inspection of their illicit transactions and excessive collection of sayer duties. If there was any record, it was destroyed when threatened by the introduction of regulations. Even the accounts of the frontier chowkies like Ganapavaram, Tadvoy, Tallapoody, Kottapally and Polavaram on the border of Rajahmundry with about 5 gumastas, 10 peons, 3 examiners at a cost of M. P. 28, per month, were unreliable.³⁵ The chowky accounts kept in Ganjam, Vizag, Masulipatam, Guntur, Nellore, Cuddapah or Kurnool were no better.

Rajahmundry used to send punjam cloth, coconuts, coir, oils and other articles to Hyderabad and got in turn cotton, wheat and tamarind. The Balijis were the wholesale and retail dealers in cotton. They used to earn rich profits in retail trade as the cotton prices rose by 30% in 20 years in Rajahmundry itself.³⁶ The brinjaries used to carry wheat and tamarind to Madras, selling them in exchange for salt or for cash.³⁷ Food

stuffs used to go from Northern Circars to Hyderabad too.

The exorbitant tariff rates on sugar, jaggery, tobacco, indigo, paddy, rice and other food grains impeded the progress of the internal commerce of the Ceded Districts. The export and import commodities too enjoyed no exceptional convenience.³⁸ Betel-nut, copra, coir, coconut, sandalwood and other articles from Nagpur were overrated and on importation were usually deposited at Hindupur, Rayadurga and other towns on the western boundary of the Ceded Districts from where they used to be exported to Carnatic and the Nizam's Dominions. The merchants had to face serious difficulties in these transactions. Formerly depositing them in frontier towns, they used to pay a trifling duty at a single chowky, but now they had to advance 6% upon the overrated price.

In the western districts which were nearer the places in which the articles were produced, their prices were lower than their average prices in the eastern districts.³⁹

A duty of 6% on the overrated price diminished the movement of all articles including the betel nut westward to the Nizam's territories. As the tariff duties proved detrimental to the trade and threatened to divert it from its permanent channels, it was thought necessary to lower the tariff on the betel nuts from 37 pagodas per candy to 30-27 and 23 pagodas, on Kolesam from 16 to 10 pagodas and sandalwood from 15 to 10 pagodas.⁴⁰ While the Revenue Board was not prepared for any reduction of duties, it wanted to increase the export trade of foodgrains from Ceded Districts, but the prevailing famine conditions there made it impossible.⁴¹ The price of rice shot up to 8 to 9 seers a rupee, from 25 to 30 seers a rupee. As such it was not imported except for military purposes.⁴²

A few roads were laid in Ganjam, Guntur, Ellore, Rajahmundry, Samalkota, Kasimkota, Vizag, Ichapore, Chicacole, and Vizianagar, with the assistance of the respective collectors, to lower the cost of transport.

In Ceded Districts, a great inundation in 1804, swept off most of the stone embankments of the rivers, canals and tanks, flooding several villages.⁴³ Rs. 1 lakh were required to repair the damages. Thomas Munroe who was in charge of Ceded Districts did nothing to attend to this devastation, while he allowed a free export of foodgrains to Hyderabad and Maharatta territories to ensure the proper collection of land revenue without any arrears. While the vexatious tariff duties adversely

affected the trade with Hyderabad in Muslins and Gentoo cloth, worth annually Rs. 2 to 3 lakhs, the unsettled conditions in the country, the withdrawal of French and Dutch currency from circulation and the bad roads contributed to further deterioration.⁴⁴ But, Munroe was not prepared to abolish these duties on the plea that it was not always possible to differentiate the goods going to Hyderabad and other territories.⁴⁵

Tobacco going from Guntur to Hyderabad was charged 5 fanams per viss (62 fanams is 1 Madras pagoda) while the original cost of a candy of tobacco of the first sort was 6.27.0 m. p. The town duty on it at 5 fanams a viss used to come to 14.8.56. Frontier tariff was 1 star pagoda on which 5% duty used to be levied again. The differences in duties collected in towns and chokies increased the export prices of tobacco, making it dearer and scarcer to the home people.⁴⁶ The export price in Nizam's territories was also high as the difference between 3% and 5% on home and frontier duties was rigorously collected.

In the decade 1810-1820, there were improved signs of trade. Imports of iron, paddy, silks, cloth, into Ganjam were higher in 1813-14, to the extent of Rs. 16,958/- than in 1812-13. Exports of white cloth, turmeric, salt and tobacco were also in excess of Rs. 36,685/- to those of 1812-13.⁴⁷

While the trade of Vizag was slowly increasing in the frontier territories, that of Rajahmundry decreased in its imports of ghee, timber and sundries from Hyderabad and increased in exports of piece-goods, salt and sundries in 1813-14.⁴⁸

The imports of Masulipatam consisted of beams, borax, chaybark, ghee, gingely oilseeds, hing (asafoetida), opium, shals, tamarind and piece-goods to the tune of A. Rs. 5,34,781/-. Exports to Hyderabad consisted of salt, maize and tobacco to the extent of Rs. 88,527/-.⁴⁹

In Guntur, the exports were worth Rs. 86,550/- and the imports by land were worth Rs. 81,427/-. Its imports from Hyderabad consisted of tamarind and piecegoods, worth A. Rs. 60,000/- and exports of ghee, tobacco and cloth came to A. Rs. 80,000/-⁵⁰

Bellary had an extensive import/export trade with Hyderabad, Mysore and frontier Maharatta states. Its imports and exports consisted of betel leaves, betelnuts, chillies, coconuts, gingely oil, jaggery, iron, paints, tobacco, chillies, ghee, medicines from Hyderabad, paints, different kinds of coloured cloth, silk, betelnuts and pepper.⁵¹

Cuddapah had more exports than imports by land by 1813-14. Its imports were worth A. Rs. 7,09,302 in 1812-13 and its exports were worth A. Rs. 5,43,405/- . Its imports mainly consisted of betelnuts, cloth, drugs, dyes, silks, sugar and tamarind and its exports were of cloth, cotton, blue cloth, elephants, jaggery, paddy, whitecloth, piecegoods and tobacco. There was also a good salt trade and illicit traffic in opium with Hyderabad which began to increase in course of time.⁵²

Nellore was importing annually 8 maunds of opium which it was sharing with Madras. Masulipatam, Juggaipetta in Kistna, and Bellary were also importing opium from Hyderabad. Bellary's import quota was worth 1,765 c. pagodas and in turn it was exporting to Chittoor, Cuddapah and Mysore to the extent of 10,000 c. pagodas.⁵³ Poppy seeds too were available in most of the Andhra districts. Ganjam was importing opium from Vizag and was distributing it to Chicacole, Berhampore, Aska, Ichapore and other places.⁵⁴ By 1830, opium eating had become such a common practice in Andhra that Ganjam alone was consuming 205 maunds per year, Vizag 522½ maunds per year and Rajahmundry 154 maunds. Gradually, the consumption in Rajahmundry alone rose to 500 maunds per year. Vizag was distributing 142 maunds to Ganjam, 10 maunds to Masulipatam, 5 maunds to Cuttack and 8 maunds to Guntur, in all 165 maunds to the various places.

Barter Trade in Salt and Cotton

The barter trade in cotton from Berar, Madras, Nagpur, Hyderabad and Mahratta territories in exchange for the salt of the Circars ceased by the 30s of the 19th century.⁵⁵ Very little cotton was available even in centres like Nawabpatnam in Nellore as it was chiefly being imported from Cuddapah, Bellary and Raichur.⁵⁶ The high monopoly price of salt from Rs. 105/- to Rs. 130/- deterred the lambadies from buying it and also stopped their bringing cotton from Mahratta territories and Hyderabad which were then in a disturbed state. Consequently, cotton and salt trade became confined to the Circars and Ceded Districts. If any cotton was to be imported, it might be from Bellary, as the produce of Adoni was very fine, as that of Cuddapah was very inferior. The brinjaries bringing the cotton of the Ceded Districts were allowed a favourable rate of salt.⁵⁷

The great emporiums of cotton trade like Yernagudem,

Masulipatam, Coringa and Juggiahpetta with all their warehouses were bereft of all their glory by 1830. Even when the price of salt was reduced from Rs. 120/- to Rs. 70/- a garce, the lambadies had no attraction to barter imported cotton for it. They mainly concentrated on buying and selling salt for domestic consumption. From 1800 to 1822, salt sold to the lambadies at Masulipatam salt cotars used to be about 5,000 B. Mds. annually.⁵⁸

These commercial transactions were hampered at every stage by a network of custom houses and sayer duties at innumerable chokies, and by frequent changes in policy, such as Aumarine settlement one time and a renting of the sayer duties another time, creating confusion. The commercial community protested in vain against these exorbitant exactions. The renting system was completely abused as the collectors themselves were not above board. In Ganjam, Vizag, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Nellore, Bellary and Cuddapah, the collectors refused to own responsibility for the decline in trade and were also reluctant to keep accurate information regarding the nature of the imports and exports.⁵⁹ Cuddapah used to maintain some records of its imports of opium, worth Rs. 2,000/-, betelnuts worth Rs. 27,000/-, tamarind Rs. 20,000/- and silks worth Rs. 20,000/- from Mysore and exports of piecegoods, metals and spices worth Rs. 1,50,000/- back to Mysore. Export trade had always to bear a high rate of duty as many of the articles sent to Bangalore were of European make and the traders had once more to pay high duties on their imports by sea and again on their transit by land.⁶⁰

In Ganjam, there was no frontier trade as such, till it improved with Nagpur, Hyderabad and Kalahasty. 50 chokies were sought to be opened.⁶¹

As there were no chokies on the borders of Kurnool, the volume of trade with Hyderabad could not be ascertained. Kurnool and Cuddapah were sending large quantities of indigo to Hyderabad. Exports of cotton piecegoods were trifling and the imports were to Aurangabad. Gold embroidered cloth and Kamblies used to be imported. The principal place of import was Alipoor on the opposite bank of Tungabhadra. Some chintzes also came from Bombay and Masulipatam, chiefly of European manufacture, as the piecegoods were always of the type worn by the middle classes.⁶²

The imposition of 14% duty was seriously felt as it threatened to put a stop to that trade. Woollen clothes of

British manufacture were always imported from Bombay.⁶³ Spices and betelnuts came from Mysore and there was no duty on camphor; tobacco from Hyderabad could not bear 5% duty.⁶⁴ These heavy inland duties led to the concentration on coastwise traffic, though internal land traffic still continued. Fairs were held here and there but their economic importance was fast dwindling. But the wealth of the trading classes like the komatis and chettalars did not decline rapidly. From an inquiry conducted by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1834, the richest merchants in Vizagapatam⁶⁵ were found to be worth Rs. 30 lakhs, while in Ganjam,⁶⁶ and Masulipatam⁶⁷ the wealth of the merchants seldom amounted to more than Rs. 1 lakh and not more than 1/5th was ever invested in trade. Still it must be said that in Tamilnad, merchants were very cautious and bankruptcies were rare. In Tamilnad, trade was relatively feeble and trading classes were not so wealthy. If among the rich merchants, the lowest of them in Nellore was worth Rs. 50,000/-⁶⁸, the wealthiest trader in Negapatam was hardly worth Rs. 30,000/- while a rival competing in Nagoor struggled hard to show a surplus of Rs. 50,000/-.⁶⁹

Commerce was organised on very sound lines. Every big merchant engaged a number of commission agents for purchase and sale of goods.⁷⁰ Even European traders and English officials in high positions were carrying on commercial transactions through the native commission agents, as they wanted to be sure not only of their capital but also of proper returns on their investments here. Every agency house had a chief confidential agent who, in turn, entrusted his work to a number of sub-agents in different towns.⁷¹ Even local merchants everywhere were engaging brokers to settle their transactions. Besides these, there were also the warehouse keepers and the godown keepers, who undertook to store the goods till a purchaser was found. Details regarding the regulations of commission were not available except for Madras, where a local merchant prepared the schedules of the rates prevailing. The general rate was 5% but it varied considerably with the nature of the transactions and the locality. When deals were difficult, the risks involved were large.⁷² For providing shipment of goods by paying advance money and undertaking all risks, the commission was as much as 10%, while for bills of exchange and for promoting loans of money, it amounted to 1%.

In Nellore, the rates of remuneration differed at every place

as this had to be settled by the parties for individual transactions. In the grain trade, the brokers received a percentage of the value, while gumastas were paid Rs. 4/- p.m. in addition to Rs. 3-8-0 per garce for measuring. At Rajahmundry, 5 to 8% commission was charged. If Europeans employed Europeans, the commission was from 3 to 5%, and if they engaged Indians, it was from 2% to 3%. These were mostly the methods employed in the weaving industry and cotton and piecegoods trade; but the agency houses, it may well be guessed, might well have been entrusted to the branches of other kinds of trade. In the absence of more authoritative information, we can only guess what might have been the exact shape of things in every trade.

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CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE STATE

The Andhra districts are rich in natural resources, such as minerals, forest produce, fisheries, etc., and there was also a lucrative trade flourishing in the districts. The East India Company wanted to exploit the natural resources and also explore all available avenues of taxation to enrich itself in every possible way. These two aspects of the State policy, namely its economic activities and its financial policy, are worth examining.

Economic Activities

Private mining in rubies, diamonds, emeralds, copper and lead used to bring rich royalties in Nellore and Ceded Districts.¹ In 1805, Grandi Ramisetty, a Cuddapah merchant, obtained permission to explore 5 acres of waste land for contarai pagodas 16.07.9.5, by employing 1,100 coolies to work the lead mines there² and offered to pay the Government a rich royalty.³ In 1806, Munroe permitted some mining explorations in Anantapur at an expense of st. pag. 10,000, which yielded a revenue of st. pag. 8,000 to the State.⁴

Diamonds : Speculators began exploring the diamond mines at Chennor, Doopad, Jammalamadugu, Koilkuntla, Kamalapuram, Gurramkonda and near the bed of the Kistna river near Parvatam in Kurnool.⁵ The produce of Kistna attracted many wealthy Gujerati merchants from distant places in Mummadugu in Yarni taluka or Cumbampalli, where the diamond cutters used to reside. These parts enjoyed a great reputation for the production of luxurious diamonds. In 1788, Nawab Bairamkhan Dhura plundered these rich diamond merchants and carried a big booty. Thereafter, the diamond merchants started migrating to Mysore, Madras, Hyderabad and to Nawabpetta near Banganapally. By 1815, only a fourth of the diamond cutters were to be seen at Mummadugu, working on the declining diamond industry there. Bellary, Munemargoo, Chennapally and, particularly, Wajrakaroor in Gooty, had an international reputation for diamond industry. But, all this importance was fast declining towards the end of Tippu's rule. In 1815, a boy of 6 found in Bellary a diamond which his father was about to sell for

Rs. 4. When the Collector heard about it, he bought it for 10 pagodas from his private purse. Later, on expert examination, it was found to be worth 10 to 15 guineas.⁶ Some parts of Gooty district, extending from Wajrakaroor to Munemargoo in the Chennapally taluka, were formerly productive of diamonds but none of them were worked.⁷ This incident led to a lot of speculation and several merchants were seeking permission to work the ruby mines in Nellore.⁸ Government were sceptical about the prospects of this venture at Maddelanarainapally and did not allow any fresh applications for explorations.

By the beginning of the 19th century, this highly speculative and expensive venture gradually failed to attract the wealthy merchants. Tippu himself who worked some of these mines got nothing more than 1,000 pagodas worth of diamonds after spending 12,000 pagodas. The same mines were worked by private merchants from fasli 1213 to 1223 when diamonds worth st. pagodas 2,293-18-28 were discovered. Diamonds weighing more than a pagoda had to be returned to the Government if discovered. This number did not exceed 7 and these were sold in public auction for st. pagodas 3,314-12-53.

This private enterprise had a good commercial organisation. The renters who ran these expensive projects, shared the returns with the sub-renters and coolies to whom small diamonds were given, besides 10 per cent. of the huge diamonds, remaining 90 per cent. being divided between the renters and the sub-renters. Generally, there were 16 workmen for each mine who shared the produce from 1 to 1/64 and a few were labourers.⁹ The Government found it profitable to advertise for cowles either with or without condition of transferring to them one-third value of the diamonds, which was equivalent to a contarai pagoda.¹⁰

Copper Mines : Nellore had some good copper mines, 50 miles from the sea, which could be worked cheaply. These attracted the attention of some private European merchants who sought Government sanction to work them. But Government was too indifferent to take any permanent interest or to allow private enterprise a free hand.¹¹ Mr. Aston, a British merchant, who got a lease for 40 years, worked it and achieved a slow progress, due to the ignorance of the native tank diggers.¹² His success encouraged the Raja of Venkatagiri and the British Government to utilise his services for further exploration. But the Government did not take any interest when another British merchant, Mr. Kinlock, reported about the possibility of work-

ing rich lead mines in the Ceded Districts.¹³

Forests : With the twin objects of protecting the forests and earning a revenue, rates for cutting timber were introduced all over Andhra Districts¹⁴. This measure proved productive only in a few places, like Cuddapah and the zamindaries of Jeyapore, Kurupam, Panchenpanta, Madugola and Golkonda, where timber was available. The rate was 1½ annas per cart load. But in other districts, like Masulipatam, Bellary and Vizag, it was of no use as they had scarcely any forests at all.

Financial Policy of the State

There were a variety of taxes in force. Tax on dwelling houses, professions and occupations, bazar fund on articles sold in the bazar, town duties on hillmen collecting wax and honey, duties on shepherds, goldsmiths, fishermen and their catamarans, were some of the taxes, to name a few. Those who escaped from these impositions were taxed under the 'visabady'. Ghee, cotton and even the conventional necessities of the people like tobacco, betel leaves and betel-nuts were not exempted. Most of these taxes like the house tax had no regular basis at all.

House tax : In Ganjam, the house-owners were divided into two categories. The first category consisted of Brahmins, Rachawars, Oria Brahmins and merchants who paid Re. 1 each, while the second category consisted of Moors, Gentoos, cultivators and mechanics of every description who paid Re. ½ each.¹⁵ In Guntur and Palnad, the classification was four-fold. The total number of houses in 1805, was 34,681. The first variety were assessed at 30 fanams each, the second 18 fanams each, third 12 fanams and the fourth 6 fanams each per annum. The total house tax collected in Guntur and Palnad was st. pag. 7,189. The amount collected at Masulipatam amounted to st. pag. 2,800, the rates on 1st, 2nd and 3rd grades being st. pagodas, 1½ pagodas and 20 fanams respectively.¹⁶

Town duties : Similarly, the rates of town duties too varied from place to place. In Guntur, Vizag and Palnad, the collections came to st. pag. 3,000, 1,200 and 800 respectively.¹⁷

Bazar fund collections : Bazar fund collections in Guntur, Nellore and Masulipatam, Ellore, Kondapally and Ceded Districts in 1807 were st. pagodas 269, 200, 9,164, 146, 170 and 5,020 respectively.¹⁸

Moturpha : The Moturpha and the Visabady used to be collected from the weavers. About 1,761 Linga Balijas used to

hire bullocks to carry loads and had to pay a special tax of st. pag. 1,895-26-39.

The moturpha was imposed on (a) cotton cleaners, (b) salt-makers, (c) cow-keepers, (d) shepherds, (e) oilmongers, (f) tomtom people, (g) country music vendors, (h) chemars, (i) rhebars, (j) pariahs and a host of others. The rates varied from place to place. The Collectors suggested the introduction of a uniform rate but the Government did not agree.¹⁹ Opposition to these taxes was very great. In 1825, the goldsmiths in Guntur, Madras, Masulipatam, Kistna and Mogeltore were united under the leadership of some very efficient craftsmen like Gurulingam and Boggarapu Buchhanna and filed a suit against the Collector of Rajahmundry for unauthorised increase in taxes.²⁰ Shepherds from Guntur also became united and protested against the increased assessments on goats, sheep and kids and pleaded for the reduction of these rates.²¹

Tax on wax and honey : The company made enquiries about the possibility of collecting a tax on jungle produce, like wax and honey and found that there was no scope in Nellore, Rajahmundry, Ganjam, Vizag and Masulipatam or any other place in Andhra except the Ceded Districts.²² In Cuddapah, there used to be a good deal of jungle produce, like honey, wax, *maddikara*, *carakattoo*, *karka boggada*, *soapnuts*, soyabeans, pots, *urikayaloo*, *tamarind*, *cashew-nuts*, etc., which used to be regularly auctioned to the highest bidder bringing annually Rs. 414 to Rs. 900 from fasli 1243 to 1252. During the decade, the total income was Rs. 6,727 from wax and honey alone.²³ In Kurnool, the Chenchus, who lived on roots and herbs, used to pay a tax of Rs. 8 per head.²⁴ In Bellary, the yield from wax and honey did not exceed Rs. 71-4-0, but the company was not prepared to forego it.²⁵

Tax on fishermen : The fisherman casting his catamarans in the sea or hanging his rods in the canals also found himself taxed. The rate was Re. 1 for each catamaran in Guntur, As. 2 in Guntur villages of Vellore and Kolleparia. The annual income in Guntur alone used to be Rs. 18.²⁶ Nellore used to get from its fisheries, from fasli 1246 to 1255, an amount ranging from Rs. 195 to Rs. 206, the total for the decade being Rs. 2,010-10-0.²⁷ As fish was an article of daily consumption, a duty on it proved to be a good source of income.

Consumption duties : Duties on conventional goods, like betel-nuts, goodauk, bhang, betel-leaves, etc., were also collected

from the consumers in every village and town in Andhra. They were a good source of revenue. The income from 30 villages, like Peddapuram, Pithapuram, Tuni, Samalkota, Draksharam, Devarapally, Jaggiahpetta, Mukkamala, Ingeram, Coringa, Palacole, Cocanada, Jaganniaikpur, Penukonda, Mogeltore, Naraspore, Ambajipeta, Bandamorlanka, Achanta, Yeleswaram, Kotpalli, Polavaram, Ramachandrapuram, Kapileswarapuram under Rajahmundry used to come to Rs. 511-4-0.²⁸

Consumption duties were also levied in Ceded Districts as well as in Ganjam, Vizag, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Ellore, Guntur, Nellore and other places. The rates varied from place to place, but they continued to be a very good source of income to the company.

No part of Andhra was free from these impositions. These taxes were originally intended to be imposed on the richer classes, merchants and traders but ultimately, even the cultivators did not escape from them, as in Ganjam²⁹ where consumption duties were levied in 1828 at the rate of Rs. 0-8-3-1/3 on 400 Betel-leaves, Rs. 0-1-11 per viss on Tobacco 1st, 2nd and 3rd sorts, Rs. 1-13-4 per viss of Ganja and Bhang and Rs. 1-13-0 per viss of Goodauk.

The duties at Behrampore, Aska, Chicacole and Ichapore were, more or less, the same. Different rates of consumption duties were levied in Vizag, Guntur, Nellore, Masulipatam, Ellore, Rajahmundry, Cocanada and Ceded Districts.

Consumption duties in Vizagapatam³⁰ in 1828 were 2 dubs for 400 Betel-leaves, 4, 3 and 2 dubs per viss of Tobacco of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd sorts, Rs. 2 per viss of Ganja and Rs. 0-12-0 per viss of Bhang.

Rates of consumption duties in Rajahmundry³¹ and the places under it were 1 anna to a bundle of 400 Betel leaves, Rs. 1-4-0 per viss of Tobacco and Ganja, Rs. 0-11-0 per viss of Bhang and Rs. 0-4-0 per viss of Goodauk.

At Masulipatam³² the duties on 400 Betel-leaves were Rs. 0-1-2, Rs. 2-8-0 per viss of Tobacco, Rs. 1-12-0 per viss of Ganja, and Rs. 0-5-8 per viss of Goodauk. In Ellore,³³ the rates were Rs. 2-0-0 per viss of Tobacco, Rs. 0-10-0 per 400 Betel-leaves, Rs. 1-0-0 per viss of Ganja and Rs. 0-5-0 per viss of Goodauk.

There were slight variations in the rates of duty imposed in several places, like Jaggiahpetta, Nandigama, Kondapally, Mylavaram, Noozeed, Relangi, Pentapadu, Challapalli, Masulipatam, Ganjam, Guntur, Nellore, Cuddapah, etc.³⁴

In addition to these impositions, there were also the vexatious transit duties imposed on each article of merchandise at every stage which were extremely harassing.³⁵ Holt Mackanzie said, "Some articles have to run the gauntlet of custom houses, passing through each subordinate chowky, before they reach the Presidency and little or none of these staple commodities could escape from the vexatious impositions and detentions."³⁶ Sir Charles Trevelyan recommended outright abolition of all duties. Lord Ellenborough had remarked, "No less than 255 articles are subject to these inland duties. The tariff includes almost everything of personal or domestic use and its operation combined with the system of search is of the utmost offensive and vexatious character. It is a system which demoralises our people and which appears to excite the aversion of all foreign traders."³⁷ But the Government did not think it necessary to lose such an important source of revenue, whatever the hardship or inconvenience to those who paid it.

Consequently, customs duties on indigo, oilseeds, opium, etc., were collected, with utmost rigour, by the chowky officials. The custom duty on indigo in Ganjam was Rs. 80 per maund,³⁸ while the price was Rs. 12 per maund. Even indigo that was sent from vats to godowns was taxed irrespective of the fact whether it was sold or not.³⁹

Oilseeds : A tax was collected both on oilseeds and on oil. These taxes were increasing everywhere. There were continued disputes between the oil merchants and sub-renters in Vizagapatam,⁴⁰ Vizianagaram and other places, where the trade was enjoying recognizable importance.

Handkerchiefs and Rumals : The red handkerchiefs and rumals of Nellore acquired an international reputation for their texture and colour. Their reputation lay in the manufacture of the red thread which was done in Nellore. It was a gainful occupation for the poorer classes. This industry spread to Guntur and Masulipatam, but the imposition of high duties acted as a heavy drag on it.⁴¹ In Nellore, the annual production was to the tune of Rs. 12,159-5-0 and the duty of 33% on it came to Rs. 4,057-15-5. In spite of such heavy duties, there used to be a flourishing trade in them.

There were again the chopping duties imposed both on coloured and white cloth. For some time, there was difficulty in distinguishing the coloured from the white chopped cloth. This difficulty was ultimately removed by providing round and

square chops for the coloured and white cloth respectively mentioning the colours in English and the native language.⁴² Piecegoods going to Hyderabad and Mysore were paying 8-1/3 per cent. duty.⁴³ Betel-leaves, dried cocoanuts and ghee going to Mysore used to be assessed heavily. While the price of ghee was 13 pagodas, the duty on it was 12 pagodas, raising its price to 25 pagodas and selling price to 30-0-4½ pagodas. Indigo and tobacco were selling at 75 pagodas in Cuddapah and Bellary.⁴⁴ Both land and sea customs officials freely indulged in abusing the privileges of their office to their best advantage. This was confirmed by the information gathered from the ryots, the brinjaries, the pariahs and weavers.⁴⁵

Mamools (customary illegal gratifications) were continued and perpetuated. "The brinjaries supplied the Daroga with free provisions, the weaver provided him with an apparel free, the shepherds gave him milk, butter and ghee, the pariah attended on his horse; in return, he relieved them partly or fully of the burden of customs payment according to his convenience. If there was any collision with the chowky official's accounts, he destroyed them or misrepresented them beyond recognition." The evil continued unabated and it appeared as though there was no remedy for these malpractices.⁴⁶ As an alternative, the Government thought of auctioning these sayer duties to the highest bidder, with a view to eliminating corruption and nepotism. But the maintenance of the necessary checks and super-checks resulted in heavy administrative cost.⁴⁷ Moreover, the vested interests protested in Guntur and Rajahmundry.⁴⁸ They complained that the introduction of auctioning was unnecessary as the revenue was sufficiently heavy and regular and no increase was expected or could be effected. The collections at Rajahmundry alone increased from Rs. 88,000 in 1818 to Rs. 1,10,595 in 1820 on white piecegoods, tobacco, oilseeds, tamarind, ghee, coconuts, betel-nuts, fish, drugs, gunnies and sundries.

The other items comprising the trade of Rajahmundry were white and painted piecegoods, jaggery, tobacco, gingely oil-seeds, cocoanuts, chillies, turmeric, chayroot, betel-nuts, betel-leaves, fish, drugs, spices, gunnies and sundries, their value coming to Rs. 94,229 in fasli 1227, Rs. 73,999 in fasli 1228 and Rs. 1,01,279 in fasli 1229.⁴⁹

The Collector of Guntur supported the customs staff on humanitarian considerations, suggesting that the Government

would lose its prestige if they dislocated this well-organised department. The Board did not pay any heed to these objections and went ahead with its proposals. Masulipatam and Cuddapah accepted the auction system without any comment.⁵⁰

After waiting for 4 years, the Government started enquiring into the economic consequences of the changes in the collection method. The review showed a general decline everywhere after an introduction of the renting system. In Bellary, sayer duties were levied on betel nuts and leaves, tobacco, cotton thread, ghee, indigo, grain, sugar, jaggery, oil, cummin seeds, garlic, ginger, oilseeds, mustard, turmeric, carpets, medicines, fruits, gum, cocoanuts, hides, earthen salt, onions, tamarind, metals, silks, scented stuffs, silver, laces, gunnies, cumblies, spices and various other articles, but the collections showed a decline in fasli 1234 compared to fasli 1213. In Guntur and Rajahmundry too, there was a fall in customs revenue.⁵¹ Better collections were expected by auctioning the customs to the higher bidder. This was considered more profitable to the Government and more advantageous to the community than leaving them to be managed by the Collector. It was thought the renters would take additional precautions and start fresh chowkies and also take all possible care to prevent smuggling, by sending their servants to the villages to chop the goods. As they could prevent smuggling, the system was supposed to be a check on the corrupt and vexatious practices of the chowkidars and peons and increase the revenue from trade and commerce.⁵²

Exports by sea were also handicapped. The Moghul merchants who carried on the trade in coloured piece goods with Basra appealed to the Board of Trade for some reasonable concession in the duties imposed at the ports.⁵³ The Board of Trade consulted their commercial residents at Madapolam and Masulipatam who told them that what the Moghul merchants wanted was not a reduction but permission to pay the duties in two convenient instalments, one at the time of export and the other after the delivery of goods in Persia. Finally, it was decided to give them two months' time on good security. Amidst the crisis in trade and industry, the Government wanted to direct a merciful payment of drawback at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the piecegoods that were given to Persia after they were fully convinced that the textile industry was nearing its grave day by day. But the duty of 5 per cent. imposed on cloth for internal consumption was still retained. The drawbacks on duties

were also paid in Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and Vizag.⁵⁴

Double rates: The system of double rates was not confined to cotton textiles alone, but extended to inland duties on commodities at Vizag, Rajahmundry, Guntur, and Bellary.⁵⁵ The figures of revenue available from the sources revealed the excellence of the accounting method, with increasing trade and prosperity of the inhabitants, affording less scope for obstruction in the aumurine. Bellary too showed a wonderful increase in emoluments. Even Ganjam and Nellore shared in the general increase. But enthusiasm about the rental methods was not universal. Towards the end of the forties, Cuddapah, Vizag and Rajahmundry became critical of the auction method.⁵⁶ In Vizag, the renting system led to undue exactions by the renters. In Cuddapah too, people preferred collection of duties by the Government.

Trade as a whole was unable to bear the brunt of increasing transit duties from year to year. Sir Charles Trevelyan and Lord Ellenborough deplored that the obnoxious system of transit duties affected the trade and consumer.⁵⁷ But the Government was indifferent.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, the famine of 1836 in Ganjam diverted the attention of the Government to the problem of finding employment for the people and paying them for their living. Many were engaged as coolies to carry the cutchery papers from place to place, but the rates of payment to them could not be settled for long.

In Rajahmundry, the vetties used to be given half a seer of rice and two pies per diem upto 1815, which was later raised for a short while to As. 1-3 for every ten miles. Thereafter, the original rates only prevailed. Though the Government wanted to introduce 3 annas per diem for a distance of 10 miles, the Collectors found the rate too high, stating that nobody earned more than As. 1-6 per diem, while many were content with one anna. Another reason given was that a seer of rice was only half an anna and that was enough to keep a man alive. This argument led to the reduction of the Government rates to $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of rice and 1 pie per diem ; and if the distance was 8 miles, 1 seer of rice and $\frac{1}{8}$ anna. Even on the testimony of the Collectors, these rates were very inadequate. In Nellore and Ganjam, the rate was As. 2 for 10 miles, and in Masulipatam, As. 3. In Rajahmundry, it was 1 anna per 10 miles, $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna for $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles and $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas for 15 miles. The rates were Re. 1 and As. 15 for

10 miles for carts and bullocks respectively in Masulipatam.

In 1837, the Board of Trade in Madras expressed a desire to abolish all vexatious duties, retaining only those on 26 articles. But this never materialised, till Lord Ellenborough became the Governor-General of India in 1842 and abolished all the transit duties in 1844.⁵⁹

The fifties saw the beginning of Municipal administration with nominated Councillors under the chairmanship of the Magistrate.⁶⁰ The experiment did not show any encouraging results in Berhampore, Adoni, Kurnool, Chicacole and Bellary in the beginning. This was said to be due to the apathy of the people for their own welfare and their opposition to taxation.⁶¹ Gradually, their civic consciousness began to grow. Associations came out with contributions as in Vizagapatam with a nucleus of Rs. 200 and a monthly donation of Rs. 250. By 1863-64, such associations were to be found in Kurnool, Nellore, Bhimlipatam and other places. Government also gave them encouragement by giving them grants now and then.⁶²

The mutiny and the attendant evils in 1857 threw the finances of the country out of gear and compelled the Government to reduce the military expenditure and find additional sources of revenue for the Centre and the Provinces.⁶³

The political authority was changing hands from the Company to the Crown. Soon after Lord Palmerston became the Prime Minister, he took up the task of this transference of power in spite of the vigorous protests of the Company, assisted even by John Stuart Mill. He wanted to be very adamant, but his Government broke on the issue of foreign policy towards France. Benjamin Disraeli, who succeeded him was equally tenacious about ending the Company regime in India, but his Bill too had to die a ridiculous death. However, in 1858, the Bill for the better Government of India was passed and thus came to a close the long and lamentable career of the East India Company in the east coast of India. Even while going, the Company cast its lingering shadows on the harassed Indian taxpayer for long. "Capital stocks and the debt of the East India Company were virtually added to the public debt of India and the annual tribute which India so long paid as interest was made perpetual. The Crown took over the magnificent Empire of India without paying a shilling. Thus, the public of India paid the purchase money."⁶⁴

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PART III

(1865-1947)

CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF TOWNS

The growth and development of towns towards the end of the nineteenth century could be traced back to a variety of reasons. When political rule was uncertain, places of strategic importance commanded much predominance and around them grew the earliest urban aggregations. Later, availability of labour, commerce, means of communications, like the Godavary, the Kitsna and the railway transport developed some more towns like Bezwada and Bhimavaram.¹

The distinction between rural and urban centres was not much. Towns like Rajahmundry, Vizianagar, Kurnool, Golconda, Palnad, Vengi, Bezwada, Masulipatam and Cocanada were once the centres of the age-old weaving industry. Cities of the old pattern gradually shook off much of their isolation, battered their fortifications and came out less orthodox and more cosmopolitan. The newspaper, press, the steam engine, streams of emigration and immigration also helped to broadcast ideas in the towns and lift the people of the rural areas from their moribund mental stagnation.

In course of time, the surroundings of mines, the confluences of rivers, hill stations, plains, forests and castles began to develop as centres of importance which later became the nucleus of towns. Nellore, Rajahmundry, Waltair, Vizianagar, Bezwada, Tuni and Bhimavaram, thus gradually rose to prominence. The differentiation between town and country is important in economic history for it leads to the separation of industry from agriculture. The foundation of division of labour that is well-developed and brought about by the exchange of commodities, is the separation of town from country.² As Weber points out, it is undoubtedly the economic motive that makes the farmer boy and the village lad go to town.³ It was this economic motive that drove large flocks of people to the plains of Vizag, Godavary, Kistna, while the Agency Talukas of those districts were primitive countryside, undeveloped, full of low hills and jungles, deficient in means of communications, devastated with fever

and sparsely populated by uncivilised tribes who speak languages of their own and were reluctant to leave the countryside, depending for their livelihood entirely on sporadic cultivation.⁴ The remaining Deccan districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Bellary and Chittoor constitute an unfortunate barren tract. Their prosperity was always affected by a comparative shortage of rainfall while Bellary and Anantapur were seldom free, if not from the reality, at least from the haunting affinities of famine.

One method of studying the problems of the towns is by a study of the statistical relations of men and communities to one another, by measuring the density of population. The more human beings per square mile, the more urgent and diverse are the puzzles that call for immediate attention.⁵

During the quinquennium 1866-71 there was a constant increase in the population. Even upto 1871, the majority of the people, i.e., about 33.8% were engaged only in agriculture and allied occupations, while those in Government services and personal services did not exceed 5.0%.^{5(a)}

The transition from rural to urban life was a slow and gradual one. In the words of Mr. Stuart, the Census Commissioner, for 1891, "One of the most marked characteristics of the village, is the close bond which unites all the inhabitants. The relations which existed between them, existed between their fathers, their grandfathers and their ancestors, many generations ago, the father holds the land his father held and his ploughmen are the descendants of theirs. The same country midwife that was present at his birth comes to help his wife's delivery and the customary household washerman attends to his cleaning needs."⁶

Upto 1871, the Brahmins constituted, mostly the landed aristocracy, along with the Karnams, Kapus, Vysyas and Kshatriyas in the Deltaic Talukas. Persons occupied in cultivation were highest in Ganjam 30.7, followed by Kistna, Nellore, Bellary and Godavary, where the percentage was 26.9, 26.7, 18.4 and 11.0 respectively. In Cuddapah, Kurnool and Vizag, the proportion was only 9.5, 9.9 and 6.8. Out of these, property-owners were largest in Godavary, Vizag, Cuddapah and Kurnool where they represented 39.3, 35.3, 23.1 and 25.1 respectively. In Ganjam, Kistna, Nellore and Bellary that proportion was only 4.2, 12.0, 13.9 and 5.3 respectively.

The landed aristocracy, living by ownership of land tilled by serf-labour, themselves contributed little or nothing to the making of their unearned wealth,⁷ while the living conditions

of rural labour ground down by higher rates of rent, low wages and higher prices were gradually deteriorating day by day. Oppressed by the high cost of living and lack of opportunities to better their lot, the majority of the lower classes began to seek an outlet to earn their livelihood. British Burma, with its extensive uncultivated barren tracts, attracted much of the labour from these districts, and emigration was comparatively easy in the absence of any Government restrictions. Large streams of working class began to flow out to Rangoon and Moulmein, through the ports of Cocanada and Coringa in search of a living, but it is not possible to give any statistical idea of their numbers as no exact records of emigration were kept.⁸ A number of women from these northern districts were going there to prostitute in the Burmese Sea Boards and to return with heavy savings. Men went mostly as labourers and a few as traders.⁹ Besides Burma, South Africa, Malaya, East Africa, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and the Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, and Borneo began to attract large numbers of settlers from these parts.

Thousands of persons were leaving the shores of the Eastern Ports for Burma and Ceylon to work there and earn a livelihood, though the conditions of transport were most difficult and humiliating. This constant drain of the labour force resulted in a remonstrance by the Agriculture department protesting against this practice. But, the pressure of population in the Plains began to increase from 1891 to 1901 and more by 1911. The net variation of population from 1891 to 1911 in the Agency tracts of Ganjam, Vizag and Godavary was higher up by 14.0, 18.8 and 34.9 and it increased by 17.6, 11.7, 22.7, 30.9, 29.0 and 7.1 in the Plains of Ganjam, Vizag, Godavary, Kistna, Guntur and Nellore respectively.

The rate of increase of population in Ceded Districts was slow. In spite of the comparatively larger holdings of the ryot here than in the rice-growing regions of Circars, he was condemned to live a niggardly life either by the price of Cholum he grows or the purchasing of his food by the cost of his cotton crop. The vital statistics for 1901-1911 revealed the birth rate of Cuddapah for each of the ten years to be lower than that of the Presidency as that of Kurnool for eight of these years. In four years, the death rate of Cuddapah was higher than that of the Presidency in five years. But, in every year save 1907, the death rate exceeded that of the Presidency.¹⁰ Large groups

of people began to move from district to district in search of seasonal employments or occupation which would enable them to earn their livelihood. These internal migrations were mostly to the contiguous districts in the Province as well as to other parts of the Province and contiguous parts of other Provinces too, while migration to non-contiguous parts of other Provinces was less.¹¹

These migrations from district to district could be explained by the thin district boundaries. The emigrants from Ganjam and Vizagapatam, as a rule, were to be found, on either side of the imaginary line. For the balance, the well-known influx of the labourers from these districts into the Kistna district would account. Of the 23,593 emigrants from Anantapur, 19,118 were found in Bellary, Cuddapah and Kurnool. Of the 23,980 from Bellary, an appreciable number were to be found in Anantapur, Kurnool and the little State of Sandur near Bellary. The Hyderabad emigrants were localized in Kistna, Guntur, Kurnool, Bellary, Godavary Agency, all touching the Nizam's frontiers.¹²

The causes for these disturbed features of moving populations, inter-district migrations or coastwise emigrations by the labouring classes were not far to seek. The decline of the age-old village communities with their self-sufficient economy, the centralised administration of an alien power, the lack of personal touch between the rulers and the ruled, the extinction and forceful suppression of the native crafts and indigenous industries by the influx of cheap machine-made foreign commodities, changes in the tastes of people, concentration of power in the hands of the landed aristocracy, lack of useful alternative occupations to the majority of the working class, in addition to the intolerably high rates of land revenue and the absence of any sympathetic understanding for the agricultural workers, contributed not a little to this unhappy position. In Northern Circars, the British creation of zamindaries was not an indication of the paternalism of the State than an indication of the self-interest and anxiety about the certainty of their resources. This led to the policy of unconsciously holding the candle to the devil, when it was done without any deep insight into the validity of their claims to the possessions they claimed.¹³ The condition of the ryot changed for the worse than for the better, after the introduction of the Permanent Settlement; though the State fixed for ever its own demand on the zamindars, the latter were taking

as much as they could from their tenants, to whom no better alternative than wholesale emigration and an escape from the tyranny of the zamindars appeared to be the desirable choice in the face of the indifference of the Government of the day for their weal and woe.¹⁴

There was no channel of communication between the people and the Government in spite of wide protests of such a policy from conscientious British officials at the helm of affairs, in this country. "In India, we set aside the people altogether," said, Sir Robert Montgomery.¹⁵ Robert Elliot, with intimate knowledge of Madras, deplored the absence of any contact between the Government and the people and pleaded in vain for the formation of people's councils to accustom the people to the idea that they and the Government should mutually communicate with each other.¹⁶ Sir Charles Trevelyan equally insisted with little effect on the fundamental cry of "no taxation without representation" and stressed upon the need for Provincial Consultative Councils.¹⁷ But the English Crown that replaced the Company Rule was financially subservient to the trading families of England and could not naturally follow an independent policy that would disturb the vested interests at home. Even Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India, had to admit that he had to carry on even a course of action known to be unjust, only with loud remonstrations, as there was no other alternative.¹⁸

This indifference of the Government of the day to look to the interests of the people resulted in the large drain of population from these maritime districts to the settlement colonies of South Africa, Malaya, Ceylon, Burma and the Straits Settlements, today constituting the core of the Indians' overseas problem. Many started emigrating to the Mauritius from Vizag, where an agency was opened. Not many did go from Chicacole. The majority went from the Coastal Districts to Burma, where high wages were expected. The coasting steamers halted at Kalingapatnam, a regular port of call. The improved facilities of embarkation increased the number of emigrants.¹⁹

The decline of the handloom and weaving industries and the consequent distress caused due to the unemployment and under-employment of the weavers was another sorrowful episode of the times. From their previous privileged position of honour and reputation for their skill when their services were competitively sought by rival foreign commercial companies, they

fell into a state of servitude, soliciting work on advances, either for hire or wages. The patronage of the native chiefs to the weavers of fine fabrics, painters, luxury goods makers and artisans dwindled into insignificance more due to a change in tastes than to severe competition in all these fields, except in the case of textiles.

To some extent, these factors accelerated the flow of population towards the urban congregations in search of work and living. The census regarded as towns all places established as Municipalities or brought under similar regulations for police or sanitary purposes and those where at least one half of the population is non-agricultural for which a numerical standard of 5,000 and above has been prescribed.

Thus, for some time, there was a steady increase in the population of the Northern Maritime Coastal Districts, while the rate of population in the Deccan Districts was steadily declining. But this position changed gradually and even the Deccan Districts showed a steady growth in their numbers in the next two or three decades.²⁰

The famine of 1881 meant a loss of 17 to 26 per cent. of population in Anantapur, Kurnool, Bellary and Cuddapah. In the next decade, the population increased by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions or 15.6%.²¹ Traffic in Godavary, Kistna and Buckingham Canals amounted to 21.44 million maunds, valued at Rs. 6.41 crores and 36.03 millions ton mileage. All this was maintained to be an index of the increasing prosperity of the Deltaic Districts ; but, in reality, the burden of high taxation bore down the people and increasing exports did not actually mean encouraging prosperity or an accumulation of wealth. Exports of rice, wheat and other foodgrains in a country maintaining its commercial independence was an indication of its prosperity. But, the commerce then was forced and artificial.²²

The absence of any legislation prohibiting internal migration and the incidence of land revenue helped to accelerate the process of evacuation of the landed gentry and labour from rural to urban centres swelling the numbers in towns.

Still, it was not such a rapid shift in spite of the broad tendencies towards industrialisation of society.

The Northern Circars were predominantly agricultural. If they constituted the granary of the Andhra Districts, the Ceded Districts constituted their workshop ; thus they mutually complemented Agriculture and Industry. Manganese deposits of

Vizagapatam, mica ores of Nellore and other rich potential wealth of the country and its mineral resources needed the most enterprising initiative and encouragement.

Occupations and Trades in Andhra Districts²³, 1911

District	No. of factories	Steam engines	Boilers	Horse-Power			Total
				Oil or Gas	Water Power	Electric	
1. Ganjam	7	165	1,199	—	—	—	165
2. Vizagapatam	23	785	2,166	—	—	—	929
3. Godavary	49	877	3,400	249	—	—	1,126
4. Kistna	89	1,493	3,485	2,138	—	—	3,431
5. Guntur	62	607	2,540	81	—	—	683
6. Nellore	18	148	302	59	—	—	207
7. Kurnool	12	42	737	15	—	—	57
8. Bellary	24	377	1,782	35	—	—	412
9. Anantapur	12	161	1,127	48	—	—	209
10. Cuddapah	15	26	402	62	—	—	88

Even the benefits of the magnificent irrigation projects on the Godavary and the Kistna could not reduce the exodus in view of the heavy burdens of Land Revenue that began to prove prohibitive.

In Ganjam and Vizagapatam, the land revenue realised by the Government was only Rs. 0-10-1 and Rs. 0-9-10, but in these districts the zamindari system prevailed to a very great extent and the landlords paid to the Government only $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ th or 1/5th of the rents they received from the actual cultivators. The land revenue of the Godavary and the Kistna Districts proved to be the highest, i.e., Rs. 2-10-10 and Rs. 2-10-5 per head and although there was a good deal of land in these districts settled on zamindari tenure, the water tax made the land revenue reach the highest ratio in the Province, higher than even in the well-watered district of Tanjore.²⁴ Thus the extension of irrigation did not mean much increase in the prosperity of the ryot.

Between 1891 and 1901, the urban population of the Presidency increased by 25% as compared with an increase of 5% in the rural population. The decade which had just concluded had witnessed a considerable change, the urban increase having fallen to 15% while the increase in the countryside had risen

to 8%. The marked increase in urban population between 1891 and 1901 was explained as being due to the attractions of town life; if this was correct it would have continued, but the fact was that better seasons had turned the people to the countryside.²⁵ Thus, the movements of population from urban to rural areas and vice versa began to fluctuate from decade to decade, assuring a definitely urban character by 1911.

The figures for 1911 indicate an increase of 25% of the urban population and 7% in the rural population over the decade ending 1891. Internal migration and movement of population did not cease and 12,205 people went from Godavary to Godavary Agency, 19,176 from Bellary to Anantapur, 1,20,940 from Vizagapatam to Godavary and 17,524 from the same district to Kistna. About 54,128 persons proceeded from Nellore to Kistna.²⁶ But, in the next decade, there was a fall of 15% in the urban population and an increase in the countryside.²⁷

The next decade of 1911-12 was an unhappy one. The epidemic of influenza took away large numbers of the population. Bellary and Anantapur were hit by famine towards the end of the decade. In 1911, 724 per 1,000 in Vizag and 721 in Kistna were supported by agriculture, whereas the figures for 1921 show 691 and 673 respectively. In Godavary and Guntur, the proportions supported by agriculture in 1911 were 665 and 696 which increased to 767 and 777 in 1921. In Nellore, there was hardly any change.

Agriculture still maintained the majority of the people in almost all the Andhra Districts and the occupations of the people per thousand were as follows²⁸ :—

Occupations per 1,000 inhabitants

	Year	Year
	1921	1911
<i>East Coast North :</i>		
Agriculture	725
Industry	114
Commerce	61
Professions	20
Others	80
		75

Occupations per square mile

Cocanada :

Agriculture	.. ..	319
Industry	.. ..	82
Comerce	.. ..	213

Rajahmundry :

Agriculture	..	..	286
Industry	..	..	198
Commerce	..	..	169

During this decade, the state of the public health was extremely unfavourable to the growth of population and large numbers of people in the Coastal and Deccan Districts fell a prey to the epidemics of influenza and malaria. An idea of the distressing death rate is given below :

Natural Division	Average death rate of fever from 1913-17	Death rate by fever 1918	Percentage of increase
East Coast North	12.6	25.7	104.0
Deccan Districts	8.7	50.8	483.9

With the spread of influenza and malaria, large flocks of people went to seek shelter in the plains of the Deltaic Talukas of Godavary and Kistna, thereby gradually increasing the density of population there from 1891 to 1921.²⁹

The fearful famines of 1867-77 added to the ravages of epidemics and greatly increased the death role. The economic condition of the country, as a whole, though improving, was at a very low ebb, taxing the energies of the Government to the utmost in devising suitable remedies for its amelioration.³⁰ The steady movement of population from district to district in search of food continued unabated, as found in 1921 as in the previous decades.

Moreover, urban life had always comparatively better advantages compared to the rural. In trades and professions, the great prizes could be sought only from centres of wealth, while in business there were no centres at all outside the city for first class abilities. Every young man in search of prospects had to go to one of the cities which afforded him extraordinary opportunities for the division and combination of labour for the exertions in arts and for the practice of all professions.³¹ In the decade following 1931, i.e., 1931-41, the proportion of urban to rural population came to be 1 : 5.

Thus, we see from 1921 onwards, a pronounced shift of population from the rural to the urban areas. There are many cities above the population level of 500,000 like Bezwada, Guntur, Cocanada, Rajahmundry, Vizag, Ellore, Masulipatam, Nellore, Bellary and Vizianagaram. Some of these cities had colourful

memories of historic antiquity, like the Dutch Settlements and the famous port in Coringa, the grandeur of the Hampi Vizianagaram Empire for Bellary in whose vicinity is the great cotton centre of Adoni. Guntur had the remnants of European colonisation in its Arundalpetta, while Vizag and Nellore showed great understanding in Town Planning Schemes. Besides these factors Vizag and Cocanada are also prominent sea ports, the former having a great natural harbour.

Prof. Geddes, a great town planning expert and architect of repute from England visited these districts in 1914-15 and recorded his impressions in his report on the towns of Madras Presidency. He ascribes a good deal of Dutch influence to the buildings, business houses and official residences in the port area of Cocanada. He also remarked, "Problems of Port and country figure here as this is a centre of export, a point, where maritime and agricultural populations actively meet and co-operate." It was a town growing into a city and needed a lot of guidance to plan it on proper lines, after demolishing the crumbling old structures. Sanitation was a crying need. There was too much overcrowding and very little of civic sense. It held out an excellent promise of commercial prosperity on account of the previous traditions of Dutch influence and the active business interests of its own fishing and merchant population. In his opinion, the overall cleanliness of the place was commendable.

Bellary had an attractive situation, strong and impressive. There were rocky fortresses and old castles, with long water collecting slopes like those of the Gibraltar varied by picturesque irregular boulder masses along which winds the ascent.³²

"The geographical situation of Bezwada is very favourable as it lies at the point where a long barrier of hills is cut by the river, thus converging communications from both the sides up and down. It is the agricultural capital of this region and with irrigation and communications, its importance and population have rapidly increased and may long continue to do so." Improvements in cleanliness and sanitation were badly needed. It had much to learn from Cocanada. Prof. Geddes desired the sanitary staff of Bezwada to visit Cocanada to learn the methods of cleanliness.

According to him Vizagapatam was an excellent illustration of town planning and house building efficiency which is traditional all over India as of old in Europe. It was most satisfactory to see that it was encouraged by the Municipal Authori-

ties instead of being suppressed as was too frequently the case by the external supply of the more expensive but really inferior dwellings from cooly lines to chawls which were regrettably common in greater cities. These were indeed dangerously near being taken as standard types to be established by the central authorities and accepted by local ones. "The placing of a poor working population on this healthy site at first laid out for the more prosperous classes and this with space between huts and regard for family independence is still unusual so far as my experience goes and I desire to warmly congratulate them." On visiting Waltair, the present headquarters of Andhra University, Prof. Geddes observed, "I have heard Waltair repeatedly described as a Brighton, but the comparison is quite inadequate. It corresponds rather to the fine portions of the Riviera."³³

There is the sea coast coming into prominence due to the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Vizagapatam is "a modern maritime city efficient commercially, industrially and steadily prospering as the outlet and inlet of a great and increasingly prosperous inland region. Adequate housing for the people in the healthy and beautiful suburbs is one of the good conditions of a successful port. It has a real harbour without the many evils which past neglect rather than natural difficulties had crowded Bombay and all other sea ports."

In Guntur, there was an unusually successful example of the later 19th century European town planning in the large suburb of Arundelpeta. Prof. Geddes recommended increased means of communications, cattle stands, wider bazaars with other improvements to follow, with improved finances.

He was not able to personally visit Nellore, but approved the need for sanitary and other improvements.³⁴

With the gradual evolution of Municipal administration and a greater sense of civic responsibilities, there is a growing sense of urgency to make urban life as comfortable and decent as possible, though it cannot be said that ideal conditions of civic life have been attained by any of the towns or cities in any of the districts so far.

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CHAPTER II

DECLINE OF HANDICRAFTS

By the beginning of the 19th century, urban industry was mainly in the nature of Handicrafts ; and the Andhra districts were the home of some of the world famous luxury goods like cotton, silk and woollen fabrics, carpets, rugs, brilliant dyes and dye-stuffs, tanned goods and leather articles. All these were one by one facing the threat of foreign competition towards the end of the 19th century.

The piecegoods industry of the Andhra districts was one which commanded international recognition for centuries for the brilliance and durability of its colours and the finesse and finish of its texture. It had a large entourage of customers ranging from Persia and Egypt in the Orient to all the fashionable centres of female wear in Europe. "In 1700, when all wrought silks, mixed stuffs, figured calicoes, the manufactures of Persia, China or the East Indies were forbidden to be worn in Great Britain, to protect particularly, the Spitafield manufacturers, it was of little avail against the prodigious importation and tempting cheapness of Indian piecegoods at that time."¹ Two centuries elapsed and the dawn of a new century found the weaver less without capital, without resources, using a primitive handloom being ousted from his hereditary craft by the "prodigious importation and tempting cheapness" of piecegoods turned out in Europe under all the advantages of skilled knowledge of the manufacturers and manipulation of mineral dyes and quick outturn in power looms in their favour.

Silk Fabrics : Vizag, Kistna, Godavary and Cuddapah were some of the important silk weaving centres in Andhra. The decline of this indigenous silk fabrics industry was due to a variety of factors, like the competition of the cheap foreign imports, the poverty and imprudence of the weavers, their indifference and neglect to produce the same class and quality of goods as of yore due to their chronic indebtedness to the village sahukar, lack of brilliant and fine colours and the rivalry of the artificial silk industry. The majority of the weavers were from the *Mala* community (the Harijans) and the Musalmans while the rest were the *Devangis*, the *Padmasalis*, the *Satanis*.

According to an estimate made in 1896-97, one-third of the weavers in any taluka in the Deccan districts were found to be

Malas and the rest Muslims ; the latter were found chiefly in centres of Muslim population as Adoni, Kurnool and Tadipatri. They eat a costlier food, indulge in drinks and are mostly indebted to the Sahukars.² According to the finesse of the fabrics they turned out, these weavers were divided into three categories, i.e., (1) fine cloth weavers, (2) silk cloth weavers, and (3) coarse cloth weavers. In a famine season, the coarse cloth weavers were hit first and later the 2nd and 1st class weavers for want of demand for their cloth. Consequently when they were forced to join public works to do manual labour, they proved to be the least fit for hard jobs, as they were never accustomed to work in heat and sun, and hence they gradually lost their skill and became unfit for their own work. The indiscriminate relief by way of public works thus killed the indigenous industry in times of distress. An understanding relief by way of provision of means for relief would have naturally enabled them to survive with their skill, but in the absence of Government and native patronage, there was none to come to their rescue.

In Godavary, the industry was mainly in the hands of Devangis. Both males and females were engaged in the craft in centres like Tottaramudi, Jagannadhapuram, and Bodasakurru in Amalapuram and Peddapuram in East Godavary. The demand for silk was declining gradually while trade in rumals, handkerchiefs, bodice cloth still continued. Peddapuram weavers continued to receive orders from Bombay for their coloured and dyed goods. The indigenous vegetable dyes were not used any more, except those with alum. By 1890, Peddapuram was still making cloth of a fine silk gauze with muslin brocade at the ends which were worn by zamindars or wealthy people as a kind of ceremonial costume. They were so fine that they were not suitable for ordinary people.³

In Kistna District, the Patkari and Dasari castes were mainly engaged in this industry. In Jaggiahpeta there were about 28 looms, each engaging 2 males and 3 females. They manufactured cloth for male and female wear, bodices, kamarbunds or sashes, used by all classes. The trade was carried on with Hyderabad, Madras, Godavary, Vizag and less frequently with Calcutta. Both vegetable and mineral dyes were used, for colouring the cloth. Specially at Jaggiahpeta, 7 families of Dasaries specialised in weaving Tasur Silk from yarn imported from Hyderabad. But even the manufactures at this centre received a check with the opening of the railway and the influx of cheap imported stuffs.

In Ceded Districts, Bellary and Anantapur had in them some vestiges of the silk industry. In Bellary, the principal castes engaged in the craft were the Devangis, the Kuruwaris, the Padmasalis and the Pattusalis. Besides other sub-castes of Hindus like Kapus, Kurubas, Malas, Barbers, Satanis and Muslims took to this industry here and there as a subsidiary occupation. The principal centres of the industry with working looms were : Adoni (2,462); Yemmiganur (3,000); Gudikal (700); Kosigi (800); Hospeta (100); Chittavadogi (200); Kampli (200); Hampasagara (400); Bachigudana (120); Tambra (200); Kottur (405). The figures in the brackets indicate the number of looms in each centre.

The cause for the decline of demand for the silks of the place was to some extent the change in patterns desired by the women-folk who began to prefer the South Indian designs of Madras and Tanjore to the products of Bellary, Adoni and Kampli, even though these were known for their texture and brilliant colours everywhere. Still, pure silk with chequered pattern and ornamental designs, gold brocades and pitambars for ceremonial occasions of Hindus and Muslims continued to be woven. Cloth of mixed cotton and silk, such as female clothes, bodices, etc., was in frequent demand from several places like Mysore, Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, etc. Anyline and Alizarine dyes were seldom used as they did not yield a fast colour.

In Kurnool, besides Muslims, silk weavers were mainly from the Khatri, Patalgadi and Atkara castes. By the end of the 19th century Kodumur had 1,000 weavers with 500 looms; Pepali 100 weavers with 50 looms, Gudur 380 weavers with 192 looms and Kurnool 10 weavers with 5 looms.

The manufactures chiefly consisted of female clothes, bodices, male clothes and prayer dresses, ordinary silks, borders, and pure silks were made only to order. But the drought and the failing monsoon, the deteriorating economic condition of masses, the opening of the railway and the influx of cheap imitations of art silk from Bombay, Poona, and other places began to hit the industry severely.

In Anantapur district, Gooty, Tadipatri, Dharmavaram and Kalyandrug were also prominent centres of the craft. In Gooty Taluka, the weavers were mainly the Devangis, Padmaslis, Pathusalis and Tagutas. The females were specialising in making yarn, while the males were engaged in weaving. The two

main centres were Uravakonda and Kristapadu where 300 and 100 looms were respectively at work. Ordinary female clothes of cotton and silk mixture were usually manufactured, besides pure silk clothes made to order. They were meeting the internal as well as the external demand from centres like Udipi, Hubli and Dharwar. But plague, famine, pestilence and continued famine conditions began to exercise very distressing influence over the weaving tribes, who consequently lost all encouragement and interest in their work.

By the end of the 19th century, the position was the same in Tadipatri and Dharmavaram. Weavers were mainly from the Padmasali caste, Tagotas and Mohammadans. In Tadipatri, cotton cloth with silk borders was being specialised in villages of Tadipatri, Yadiki, Athiruladunna, Krishnapad, Narasapur and Yakkalur with 40, 40, 100, 75, 30 and 35 looms in each of the places.

For 30 years they continued to be famous silk industry centres, exporting to Bangalore and Bellary. But the industry fell on evil days when the weavers were heavily indebted for want of work, high cost of living, plague and famine.

In Dharmavaram, the same sub-castes used to be engaged in the craft. By the end of the last century, about 100 looms and 200 weavers still continued in the craft. Both male and female wear, jackets, turbans, handkerchiefs and rumals were made. Exports were mainly to Gooty, Anantapur, Hindupur, Penukonda and Bangalore. According to a contemporary witness "Dharmavaram in Anantapur and Kampli in Bellary are the chief places where fine cloth for female wear is made. The most effective and characteristic cloth is one with a white ground of white check pattern, crimson borders and brocade ends, sometimes with figures of flowers, birds, etc."⁴ The best of this kind were made at Dharmavaram.

Kalyandurg had only 3 families of the *Kuruvina* caste. They used to weave to order, coarse cotton cloth with red and yellow silk borders for Komati women; but the industry gradually died down as in other centres.

The position in Nellore was still worse. There was only a single family that came from Conjeevaram. There were some hereditary silk weavers at Bangarupeta, but even they gave up the silk work and confined themselves mostly to the making of handkerchiefs and lungis for Mohammadans.⁵

Manufacture of Dyes and Dyestuffs

For long, the Palempores and chintzes of Masulipatam and other coloured fabrics of Andhra districts had an alluring attraction chiefly owing to the brilliance and permanency of their colours. Preparation of the vegetable dyes and dying of cotton and silk fabrics was specialised in some of the places like Gollapalam near Cocanada, Bendamurlanka near Amalapuram, and a few other villages and towns. Certain villages in each district were specialising in dyeing cotton cloth, silk and woollen fabrics.⁶ Vizagapatam had 26 cotton dyeing and 1 silk dyeing villages ; Kurnool, 8 cotton dyeing and 7 silk dyeing villages and one woollen dyeing village ; Anantapur, 43 cotton dyeing and 3 silk dyeing villages ; Cuddapah 36 cotton dyeing and 5 silk dyeing villages ; Bellary 52 cotton dyeing and 80 silk dyeing villages ; while Nellore had only 36 cotton dyeing and no silk dyeing villages.

But the influx of cheap foreign dyed goods began to hit the indigenous weavers, who could not withstand the competition of the mill dyed goods from foreign countries.

Cotton Fabrics

As in the case of silk fabrics, an influx of cheap mill-made foreign imports hit the superior monopolistic position of the age-old cotton fabrics which were also once the craze of the fashionable people both in the Orient and the Occident.

Of all the handicrafts that made the Andhra Textile Industry a household adage were its "Palempores". Masulipatam was the seat of this international commodity of repute. Technically speaking, the Palempores were of 3 varieties : (a) Block painted only, (b) Block painted and hand painted, and (c) Hand painted only.⁷

The term "Palampore" was originally derived from Hindustani "Palang-Posh" and is generally applied indiscriminately to all varieties of Indian printed or hand painted cottons, including canopies, prayer cloth, or mats, handkerchiefs and cottons for male and female wears ; but, the Palempores properly so called were made only at Masulipatam.

The industry may be divided into 2 parts : the first including handkerchiefs, turbans, clothes for male and female wear, bed covers, canopies, and prayer clothes, all with the exception of the last being strictly for domestic use. The second embraced clothes of special manufacture, nearly always hand painted, used

as canopies over the village Hindu Gods and at marriages and other ceremonies and also to drape the car of God on special processions. The different varieties in the first category were used exclusively by Mohammadans, though the South Indian Muslims had assimilated many of the customs and habits of the Hindus. In the Presidency, Masulipatam in the Kistna district, Palacole and Gollaprolu near Cocanada in East Godavary were the chief places where the former varieties were made.

"The kind usually seen at the exhibitions were large cotton clothes used as screens, canopies by hand with conventional representation of trees covered with flowers or birds perched in the branches of a tree or flying among them. At the foot, a river is sometimes flowing, a tiger and other beasts prowl about underneath the shade of a tree." There were only 3 families with the required skill for such work existing now and they made the clothes only for order.

The tedious process of repeatedly boiling the colours delayed their making. Usually it took 2 months for the preparation of a cloth. Ordinary trade was in black printed canopies, screens, bed covers, men's and women's clothes. Of these, the canopies and bed covers were best known to Europeans. Besides many charming specimens of handkerchiefs, clothes and prayer mats were also made which were everywhere in demand for their durability as well as for brilliance of their attractive designs. The block prints were again a magnificent variety, with elaborate patterns spread over 5 or 6 yards. The blocks were beautifully cut and finished, with great minuteness and care.

At Gollaprolu near Cocanada, block painted Palempores used to display enchanting figures or scenes from the Mahabharata or the Ramayana ; none was superior to them in drawing, accuracy, graphic composition and excellence of colour. At Palacole, the craft was not so well spread. Only one family was devoted to this industry and this used to prepare them, occasionally to order. By the end of the 19th century, the artisans who could prepare these designs became few. There were hardly 3 families in Masulipatam who were capable of preparing them to order. Besides Masulipatam, Gollaprolu, Palacole and Kalahasti were the other centres of this famous craftsmanship. The chief centre of export was Persia.

Palempores of Persian pattern exported largely to Persia (sizes : 18×18 ft.) from Masulipatam were costing about Rs. 60, while Palempores with flowers and birds designs popu-

larly decorated with gold leaf manufactured at Palacole, costing from Rs. 300 to Rs. 183. With the march of time, there was a steady decline in the demand for this kind of fabrics from foreign markets. The native demand was too insignificant to support this craft.

Next only to Palempores in demand were the delicate muslins and the brilliant chintzes used in female wear, but, the change in fashions and tastes among the South Indian women began to hit this industry too. With the import of foreign made cotton cloth of cheap varieties, there developed a craze for the foreign products. "A radical change had taken place in both design and colour owing to the widespread introduction of imported fabrics which now constitute a conspicuous feature of the bazars throughout the presidency."

Besides, fashions played an important part in the choice of the male and female wear and the primary factor that was mainly responsible for guiding fashions, so far as native South Indian female dress was concerned, was novelty, quaint or grotesque and artistic beauty.⁸ In the days of the decline of this craft, people were least concerned about its artistic beauty. The love of the grotesque was illustrated by painting of mythological pictures or other eccentric devices. Thus, the change in fashions, the new competition, rise in food prices and consequent increase in the value of the articles of native wear caused an increase in the cost of the raw materials which was reflected in their higher prices and caused a steady decline in their demand.

Venkatagiri in Nellore district was for long specialising in the manufacture of plain muslin fabrics with gold or red lace bands for turbans. Preparation of bordered clothing was a speciality here. The manufacturers were importing gold thread lace and the red dye stuff from Europe for preparing the cloth to specific order by the rich. But, by the opening of the 20th century, there was a steep decline in the fortunes of the handicrafts. People were not so rich as they were. The bazar merchants were not supplying them with Bookmul, muslins and colour printed fabrics at cheap rates. Hence, they could not afford to buy the costly garments by the native weavers. Some stray demand continued from Salem, Madura, Trichy and Kumbakonam at intermittent intervals. Even this demand was faced with the problem of high prices which raised the cost of living due to the successive years of scarcity and drought

resulting in high prices of foodgrains. Again, the weavers had to raise the cost of manufacture and price of their muslins, owing to the rise in the price of the imported thread and gold lace. Consequently, the handicrafts had to face a severe crisis and a gradual decline.

Woollen Fabrics

Besides the famous Palempores and painted chintzes, the Andhra districts were also preparing a variety of woollen fabrics. Godavary was one of the chief centres of industry in the Circars on the East coast. About 12 villages in Ellore Taluk, 6 villages in Bhimavaram, 1 village in Tanuku, besides the Rajahmundry Central Jail, were producing coarse blankets of grey wool.

'But, the Ceded Districts were the home of the woollen industry. "Bellary cumblies are the greatest articles of export. Rugs made in Kudligi Taluk are in great demand and sent to all parts of the country. Several varieties of these are manufactured, from the coarse elastic cumbly used in packing raw cotton, priced at about 6 annas, to the fine blanket of Rs. 6 to Rs. 8. Cumblies made of the wool of a lamb, 6 months old, were sold at Rs. 50 each, but now they are no longer made."⁹

Coarse blankets continued to be made in about 193 villages by the Kurubas till the end of the 19th century in the surroundings of Bellary.¹⁰

In Kurnool, blankets were manufactured in 39 villages of Pattikonda, Nandikota, Ramalkota and Nandyala Taluks. In Anantapur, Hindupur, Kalyandurg, and Penukonda, about 144 villages were engaged in the weaving of coarse blankets. Cuddapah was another chief centre of the industry carrying on the weaving of rugs, in about 72 villages. In Nellore, woollen fabrics were manufactured in 7 villages of Ongole Taluka consisting of coarse cumblies as a protection against the wet and cold by day and night.¹¹

Carpet Making

Like the silk, cotton and woollen fabrics of these parts, even the carpets of Ellore and coloured rugs and blankets of Kurnool and Ceded Districts, held an international position for centuries. Like Masulipatam for Palempores, Ellore was famous for its coloured and silk designed carpets and the seat of this industry for centuries. Besides the adjacent villages of Sanivarapupeta and Tangallamudi, Kurnool, Bellary and Adoni, in Ceded Districts

were other centres of this chief industry.¹²

The carpets of Ellore were a prized luxury for fashionable people all over the World. "The indigenous weavers make excellent carpets in fine mingled colours, some of them more than 3 yards broad and of great length. They also make other richer carpets of silk or of artificially mixed silk wool with lovely representations of flowers and figures. The grounds of some rich carpets are even in silver and gold with flowers and figures, most excellently disposed."¹³ The authentic history of carpet industry commences from the 16th century at Madapollam, which was 7 miles from Pulicot, where the Dutch had a large factory, and where they dyed much blue cloth, having 300 jars set in ground. They also made many paintings there.¹⁴

In Ellore, the craft was practised by the Persian settlers and their descendants, who came over there as early as the 16th and 17th centuries during the days of the Muslim rule. The industry was carried on by boys of 8 to 14 years of age. The place was famous even as early as 1550, when Orme wrote "the city is even at this day a place of considerable trade and resort, famous for its manufactures of painted cloth—for the plants from which the dyes were extracted grow nowhere in such perfection as in the adjacent territory."¹⁵ "The roots of Pataipolli (Nizampatam) on dyed and painted stuffs exceed even those of Masulipatam. The colour there is so deep that they are obliged to use it with the essaye of Arrican and Ortacur to make it more lively."

"The rugs from Ellere were universally admired for their beautiful Oriental pattern, fine weave and rich artistic colouring. These seem well adopted to find ready sale in Europe," was the testimony of Mr. Forbes Royal on the samples sent to the great London Exhibition in 1851.

The Ellore carpets were the products of the indigenous wool of the sheep grazed in the Deltas of the Godavary and the Kistna. No foreign wool was ever imported and all the raw materials of the industry were of an indigenous nature.¹⁶

Carpets were being made in Tangallamudi and Sanivarapupeta. There were about 100 Karkhanas or carpet factories with an average of 2 looms within each house. Many of the Karkhanas contained only one loom. Some contained 7 or 8 looms varying in length from 12 to 18 ft., the largest loom in the town being of a span of 24 feet. The prices of carpets were according to their texture, elegance and excellence. It very often changed with the number of stiches to the foot, Rs. 10 a sq. yard

being charged for carpets with 100 threads for the foot, Rs. 8 for those with 90 and Rs. 4 when the number does not exceed 55.¹⁷

Even by the beginning of the 20th century, there were about 3,000 weavers of carpets according to an estimate made by Messrs. Wilson & Co., Madras, but according to their own testimony, weavers very often had to combine Trade with Agriculture. In some cases it was said, that families had to combine work of cleaning and spinning, weaving and dyeing. The weavers were paid by the day in Ellore and their daily remuneration did not exceed As. 4 a day. The total output of the craft was calculated to be about 555 bales or 55-60 thousand sq. yds. per annum with the usual quality of 4½, 5 and 5½ stiches per inch. Practically, the whole of Ellore output was going to London market. The finest stock grade carpet or rug that was made at this time was 90 threads per foot and the coarsest was 36 threads per foot.

There was a ready sale for all sizes of Mats, Rugs, Carpets, from 2 ft. 10 inches to 6 ft. 4 inches upto 30 × 20 ft. "Farishkhani" was the most popular design and the most expensive to make. "Ashunkhani" was also another popular design. Large numbers of carpets and rugs used to go for shipments through Madras firms to the auction sale warehouse in Cutler Street in London. About 1902, the price was approximately 25 lbs. per rupee, but, in 1908, it was 12 to 15 lbs. per rupee. London continued to import the yellow carpets through the firm of Maple & Co., and the demand was mostly confined to 4 important varieties, i.e., Ashunkhany, Parseekhany, Gulbandi, Nabashkhany and Gopal Rao Khany. The greatest demand in the English markets was for the first two varieties. Vegetable and other indigenous dyes were used. Different varieties of carpets were made at the following rates :—

1. Ordinary, Rs. 6-8-0 per sq. yard delivered in Madras.
2. Exhibition Rs. 10-0-0 per sq. yard.
3. Extra-exhibition containing 144 stiches to the sq. inch
Rs. 12-8-0, or Rs. 15-0-0 per sq. yard.

Thus, Ellore continued to maintain its industrial activity in carpet manufacturing till recently, inspite of its steady decline. It was supplying annually stuff to the value of Rs. 1½ Lacs through Arbuthnot & Co., London.

The handicraft was by no means confined to Ellore and its neighbouring villages. Masulipatam was considered to be a good imitator of Ellore in this respect. But the material it was using

was inferior and the workmanship indifferent. The Masulipatam carpet weavers were accused of trying to undersell the Ellore carpets by using cheap materials, inferior colours and creating a vulgar taste in the foreign markets. They could not stand the competition of the Ellore carpets in the international markets as they were never well received. Once Arbuthnot & Co. in Madras booked a large order for a firm at Boston in the United States, but the result was not a success as the carpets were bad.¹⁸

The industry was not confined to Circars, but, was developed to some extent in Ceded Districts too. Adoni and Kurnool were the two parallel centres of the handicraft, though less important. Bellary too had its own share to contribute. In Adoni, the Mohammadan weavers were manufacturing carpets and cotton rugs on horizontal looms using the indigenous vegetable dyes. The largest number of looms owned by an individual was ten. But the output was not so markedly excellent as of the previous generation. They had to compete with the imported cheap carpets and the carpets made in Jails. Moreover, the handicraft was not developed to such a rarity of skill as in Circars and the sales were naturally limited to the Indian markets like Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and the carpets were sent very rarely to London. The carpet merchants offered these goods for ready sale on the railway platforms at Adoni, Gooty and Guntakal, where much of the business was carried on. These were bought by the natives for bedding and by the Europeans for tent carpets, holdalls etc. These platform sales include carpets of the type of Ayyampeta with parallel stripes of various colours, and also some of diamond shaped devices, requiring a good deal of skilled labour. One main reason for the continuous demand of these carpets was their absurdly cheap price. A carpet with parallel stripes of the size 8 ft. \times 3 ft. \times 10 inches, was gradually sold at Rs. 2-8-0. It took 10 hours for an artisan to make it, who was paid a labour charge of As. 6. Another design with a diamond pattern and of the size 7' \times 4' \times 6" was usually sold at Rs. 3-4-0. After paying the weaver As. 12 for his labour and deducting the cost of raw materials, the margin was not more than As. 2. Unfortunately towards the end of the 19th century, the artisans found it impossible to carry on, on account of heavy drought, bad seasons, high price of food grains, absence of advances from the Sahukars who were so far financing their production, as they anticipated a sudden fall in demand for these goods etc. As a consequence, about 4,000 looms were faced with the severe crisis

of unemployment and starvation.²⁰

Kurnool was another important centre of this handicraft almost till the end of the last century.²⁰ Carpets were going from this place to Hyderabad, Berar, Nagpur, Agra, Cawnpore, Poona, Jubbalpore, Bombay, Khandesh, Gadag, Dharwar, Hubli, Bangalore, Mysore, Kampli, Madras, Cuddapah, Rajahmundry and several other places in Northern and Central India.²¹

By the beginning of the twentieth century, distress spread even there. Due to the heavy drought and bad seasons, the prices of food grains rose enormously. The ruling price of carpets was hardly able to cover the cost of raw materials, not to speak of labour charges. Usually a bundle of eight carpets was sold for Rs. 8 whereas the prices suddenly fell down to half of it, with the result, goods worth Rs. 20,000 were lying idle in the godown by 1898. Mostly Muslims and women from "Gosha" families were engaged in this craft and this sudden decline meant loss of occupation and livelihood to a large number of families, leaving about 4,000 looms idle.²²

Thus, the carpet manufacturing industry which was carried on in several districts chiefly in Ellore, Masulipatam, Adoni, Kurnool, Ayyampeta and Bellary declined both in its extent and style and finish. Dr. Duncan who personally toured the carpet making centres towards the end of the last century observed, "on a recent visit to Masulipatam I found the industry had in recent years sunk in extent and deteriorated in the quality of the carpets. I visited several of the carpet weaving centres, but in none of them did I see anything that can be favourably compared with the high class rugs and carpets of Ellore. At Ellore, the industry had dwindled into comparative insignificance. This may be due not to a falling in the skill of the weavers, but, to the fact, that no high class carpet had been ordered about the time of my visit. There are only 16 important weaving establishments, carpets and rugs entirely made to order. "It is a pity" he concluded " that an industry so highly spoken of should have to decline until it threatens to become extinct for want of Government or popular support."²³

Tanning and Leather Works

Tanning of leather and making of leather goods was mostly done by the *Madigas* in the Circars as well as Ceded districts, numbering about $\frac{3}{4}$ th millions from Nellore to Vizag and the Ceded Districts. They were very poor with scanty clothing and

food, and insufficient homes, which were hovels without windows or doors, living in very stinky surroundings emanating horrible smell. They were used to tanning leather after removing it from the dead animals by keeping it in lime and using indigenous herbs and barks of trees. They made out of it drums, chappals, agricultural implements, buckets for drawing water and other articles useful for blacksmiths and carpenters.²⁴

In the manufacture of these goods, the Madigas showed no less ability. To suit the taste of the customers, they made articles like sandals and strings, ornamental and comfortable. The tools of a *Madiga* were simple as his life. He often got his pay in kind, a little fodder for his buffaloe, so many measures of cheap grain, less if the crop was bad, a few vegetables etc. It is difficult to estimate how much the village cobbler earned, but it could be said that a good workman always earned the fair wages of a cooly.²⁵

In Northern Circars, they used to be attached to the families of the ryots and were entitled to get the dead animals of their houses. They had to supply in return, sandals for the ryots' family, belts for their bullocks and other agricultural implements. From the indigenous methods they used for tanning of leather produced excellent results and according to some experts who examined this work, it was found to be fit for all practical purposes. They even doubted whether any change in the method of tanning could be productive of better results.

The starting of chrome leather industry appeared to be a bad necessity, but there were certain difficulties in the way as (a) want of capital, (b) want of intelligent labour, (c) an unsuitable hot climate and (d) difficulties of finding markets for the finished skins. There was a fear of high tariffs imposed by the continental countries and America, which if not already high were to be made high. Hence, the idea could not make much headway and the exports of hides and skins abroad in unfinished or semi-finished state continued.

The beginning of the twentieth century marked an era of a clear decline of the indigenous handicrafts. Reasons for the decline were mainly two. They were (a) the threat of foreign competition by the on-rush of inferior and cheap mill made products. The few orders that came for cheap imitation samples told heavily on the original skill of the weaving tribes who were accustomed to produce first rate varieties. The change in fashions and the lack of demand for first rate goods gradually reduced

them to use Alizirine dyes which were of a transient colour in the place of the old Aniline colours made of vegetable stuff which were remarkable for their brilliance. The influence of English markets had its own deleterious effects and behind it was the desire of a newly created Bourgeoisie for an imitation of standards.

"The carpets of Masulipatam were among the finest products of India, but, due to the deteriorating influence of the English indentors, the glorious carpets have sunk to a mockery of their former selves".²⁶ The fortunes of the carpet industry even in other parts were equally bad. By 1903 the carpets sent from Ellore were poor in weave and complexion. Not a single word of praise lavished upon them by previous writers seemed to be deserving. The patterns in use were poor and often modifications of cheap Wilton, Kidder Minster and German power looms designs. Some of the old patterns were still with some weavers, but unfortunately there was no trade for this class of goods.

The old days were being forgotten and were giving place to cheap aniline unskilfully applied. By the beginning of the twentieth century even Ellore carpets confirmed this opinion. Several of the best weavers were dead and most of the secrets had passed away with them. The dyeing profession had been always conservative and hereditary and had rarely been adoptive unless the dyer, having no son, occasionally adopted. He used to get fast colours which were at once the envy and joy of his employers and fellow workers. Gradually this art had gone, never to return, and in its place crept in the cheap, crude harsh dyes from the German chemical factories with their garish tones.²⁷

Prominent publicists appealed for the generous assistance and co-operation of the rich and the Government to save such brilliant handicrafts from dying. Edgar Thurston²⁸ pleaded for the establishment of an Arts School where the crafts of weaving and dyeing could be taught. Mr. Harris, author of the Monograph on Carpet Industry appealed to the rich to patronise the dyeing craft in their midst. He complained, "few of the ruling chiefs in South India do anything for the support of an industry, which in its best days was entirely carried on in the interests of princes, sovereigns and nobles. Although carpet weaving came to South India with poor immigrants from Persia, it is reasonable to suppose that for a long time at any rate, princes

and nobles were the best patrons of the weavers of the south. But, to-day every Zamindar and Chief prefers to see on his floor, the cheap gaudy products of a second rate from the English and continental power loom and he probably pays as much as he would have to give to a fine copy of an old design made in South India, and which would be, if properly looked after, as much an object of beauty to his great grand children as to himself."

Same was the fate of the silk, cotton and woollen fabrics which were the mainstay of the indigenous economy for generations. They were sadly hit with the import of the cheap foreign imitations due to a sudden vulgar change in the tastes of the people. There were none to patronise these age-old world-famous handicrafts and save them from their sorrowful extinction. Prominent European publicists and lovers of Indian handicrafts raised voices of protest in vain. At Lahore Art Conference in 1894 Col. T. H. Hindly spoke saying, "It is for us to ascertain, whether it is possible to teach the purchasers and producers to differentiate the good from the bad and if he cannot directly guide the dealers at all events to see that our arts schools and our Museums only supply and purchase the best examples and do all they can to discourage the sale of indifferent ones." Edgar Thurston, concluding his monograph on the cotton fabrics in the Madras Presidency said, "Admitting the hopelessness of any attempt to entirely arrest the importation of these goods, it nevertheless seems to me that the Madras Government School of Arts might, with a change of policy, prove a great good and that it should take an active lead in the serious efforts to bring about an improvement in the colour and design of the imported, printed fabrics and an amelioration in the conditions of the native weavers and dyers who, as native artisans, are worthy of support and sympathy. An earnest attempt should be made by the School of Arts and Industries to check at least the production of the most glaring barbarism in colour and printed fabrics by the preparation and widespread distribution of the patterns carefully selected as regards colour and design with a view to guiding the designers and manufacturers." Havel ascribed the decline of the handicrafts largely "To the spread of European education and ideas which led many of the better classes of natives to throw aside their national dress and decorate themselves in a pseudo-European style. The native industries suffered more by way of loss of

prestige as well as by European competition.”²⁹

“The process of decay begun by the establishment of foreign rule was completed by the competition of foreign goods and towards the end of the last century the urban industry had only two courses to follow, either to change its methods and turn-out cheap art wares—products of a terribly sweated industry of doubtful artistic value, but paying like the Art Industries of Japan, or keep up their standards and face decay, slow or rapid.”³⁰

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CHAPTER III

AGRICULTURE

(1865-1880)

While the year 1865 was a momentous one for the whole world, it operated as a very mischievous one for the Indian agriculturist and especially the Andhra peasant. It was the year of the Latin currency union which ushered in the era of prosperity due to the large-scale discoveries of gold in California and Australia which raised the prices of agricultural commodities all over, while in Madras, the change introduced in the Rent Recovery Act hit hard the fortunes of the cultivators. For the first half of the 19th century, there were wide fluctuations in the prices of foodgrains due to scarcity of precious metals, rarity of currency for payment of rent and other cash transactions and the prevalence of a large-scale barter economy. With the insistence that land revenue should be paid in cash, the premium on cash currency rose high and still further depressed the agricultural prices.

This trend was reversed only after the seventies with the influx of fresh precious metals and rise in agricultural prices all the world over. But, in spite of the European countries entering the Latin union, the Secretary of State for India refused to restore the Gold Standard. The silver standard, the 2 shilling ratio and the paper currency without metallic security were still continued. This policy left the peasant, the industrialist and the trader in the most uncomfortable position. Again, it was about this time that foreign trade of India was increasing by leaps and bounds. A large quantity of these precious metals found their way to India and set up a general movement towards an increase in prices.¹

To these circumstances, the changed land revenue policy of the Madras Government proved another headache. A new provision was introduced into the Rent Recovery Act VIII of 1865 enabling the Government and the zamindars to enhance rents on grounds which never permitted them to have recourse to under the law that was in force till 1865.² "This" as Mr. Raghava Iyengar said, "instead of clearing up the ambiguities in the law of the landlord and tenant and placing the rights of the ryot on well understood basis has had the effect of involving the relations

of ryots and zamindars in greater confusion than they were in before."³ These difficulties were enhanced by the inclemencies of weather, a heavy drought and an occasional famine which ruined the peasant and devastated agriculture in larger areas of these tracts. Especially the period from 1865-80 was one of severe drought and serious hardship to the peasantry.⁴ There was no change in the agricultural methods followed. The Andhra ryot had no belief in the theory of the rotation of crops and stuck to his belief in the age-old methods. In Ganjam and Vizag the land was left fallow for an year growing pastures for grazing cattle. Its fertility was maintained by manuring and ploughing. Compost was made of cowdung, ash, refuse of indigo vats, and oil mills and the droppings of sheep and goat by penning the flocks at nights, paying the shepherd a rupee or so for each flock. In Codavary and Kistna, the delta lands never required any manuring, while the Betel Garden lands were used for 3 years, and abandoned for another. Lands that were not left fallow were manured by cattle. If they became unprofitable even after manuring, they were abandoned.⁵ Nellore alone followed the method of rotation, but, even there, manuring was altogether unknown in red soils. In Cuddapah, crops requiring less nourishment were grown frequently so as not to exhaust the soil fertility. Ragi was usually sown after sugarcane, cotton and indigo. Dry lands were left fallow, while other lands were taken up and exhausted in 2 or 3 years. Manuring was well practised by keeping branches of trees and leaves for a long time in the soil. Even fresh leaves were allowed to ferment and decay. This system of manuring yielded excellent results by giving a clear profit of Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 a year and Cholum cultivation was giving a net profit of Rs. 100 an acre.⁶ In Bellary, 15 to 20 *bandies* load of manure was used for every acre and a kind of crop rotation was in use. First year, cotton and *Korralu* were sown together, one row of cotton to 2 or 3 rows of *Korralu* were sometimes mixed with Bengal gram, while chelum alone was cultivated in the 2nd year, wheat or white cholum was grown in the 3rd year in the fields. Though this was a great cotton tract, cotton was grown only once in 3 years, as it easily exhausts the productive powers of the soil and does not allow anything else to grow in succession. Kurnool was growing Jonna year after year, but the area of the crop depended on the extent of the rainfall. In spite of heavy manuring, the paddy crop was small.⁷

Cotton was the main crop of the Ceded Districts and constituted the chief exportable commodity to America and England. During the years of the American War, Bellary alone made 1½ million sterling by its cotton exports.⁸ The real importance in the economic sphere to India lay not so much in raising the price of cotton and thus bringing about a temporary period of prosperity but in bringing home to the cultivator the fact that causes other than local needs began to govern the nature and extent of crops sowed.⁹ The growing means of communications and railways extended this scope of commerce. But all this did not mean an era of prosperity to the Andhra ryot. On the other hand, he was constantly ground down between lack of employment and food in every alternate famine, as, in India, famine always meant both lack of occupation and food rather than lack of employment alone as anywhere else.

The first symptoms of famine were visible in Ganjam towards the end of 1865. There was a sudden spurt in agricultural prices and consequently an increase in exports. By January 1866, starvation deaths were mounting up in number, there was a heavy clamour for opening of public works. Charity houses and free kitchens of cooked food were opened, but they were too inadequate. Even the large supplies of rice and sums of money spent on Government account could not satisfactorily mitigate the evil. Rains were scarce and agricultural employment was at a standstill. Starvation deaths increased alarmingly and distress spread further to Bellary. Prices of food-stuffs rose enormously and people had not the means to buy any. Governor Lord Napier visited the affected areas, formed relief committees under his chairmanship for distribution of funds to be spent on cooked food, raw grains, or doles of money to be given at the discretion of the Collector to those unable to labour. The absence of seasonal rains still further worsened the situation. By August and September 1866, Ragi was selling at Bellary at an average of 12 lbs. per rupee as against 41 lbs. in the previous year. In Ganjam, rice reached the peak level of 15½ lbs. per rupee. Grain merchants, afraid of being looted and forced to sell at fixed prices, were exporting their stocks to distant markets. Consequently, the non-agricultural classes, Muslims and people with low fixed incomes suffered most. The ryots were hard pressed for want of raw grains and they could not relish the cooked food that was distributed in free kitchens. Uncooked rice was given only to a few, while as many as 24,000

had to depend on public kitchens for their food by November 1866 in Ganjam alone.¹⁰ Many emigrated to the south and Sambhalpur and 800 left for Mauritius by sea. In every district, grain robberies and thefts increased. Offenders were chiefly low castes, driven to crime by want. Cattle were slaughtered specially in small impoverished villages.¹¹ In Ganjam, about 11,000 perished out of starvation. In one part of the city alone about 10% of the people died. As registration of births and deaths was begun only in 1865, much reliance cannot be put on these statistics.

The famine stricken population were employed either on public works or fed by public and private charity. The total number from February 1866 to February 1867 was 114,646, while the cost of gratuitous relief and cost of relief works came to Rs. 1,06,793 and Rs. 4,47,540 respectively. The expenditure on relief works was very small, while the gratuitous relief administered was very great. Many zamindars, rich ryots and nobles opened relief houses on their own accord. Persons were admitted into enclosures on presentation of tickets and given free food. But, if the Government had opened public works at the first sight of distress, distributed grain on Government account and prohibited exports, much distress and unnecessary loss of life could have been saved. But, this was not done.

The effects of these famines were to be seen in the irregular growth of population from 1871 to 1881. While there was a steady increase in the districts of Ganjam, Vizag, Godavary and Kistna, it fell down considerably in Nellore, Cuddapah, Bellary and Kurnool. The population in the Deccan districts was checked mainly by the widespread under-nourishment of the people in famine times. The lack of sufficient food not only checked the birth rate in times of scarcity but also emaciated the people and made them easy victims of cholera, plague and pestilence which were the invariable companions of famines in India.¹²

However, the majority of the people lived on agriculture, as that was the mainstay of their occupation. But, agriculture was not profitable in the Ceded Districts as in the Circars. In Cuddapah the ordinary ryot lived on the produce of his soil. All the members of the family worked on the land along with him and, if he had the means, he employed a few servants on hire. Any surplus remaining after deducting the cost of maintenance and payment of revenue to the Government or rent to the landlord was devoted to the purchase of clothing and

other luxuries. If he was still richer, he assumed the role of a rural moneylender. After the end of the Civil War, America again regained its feet in cotton exports and stopped buying the cotton of these districts. The lack of adequate irrigation facilities, rocky soils and the constant threat of famine worked as a nightmare to the peasant there, while his compatriot in Circars has always been comparatively more fortunate.

The ryots in the Delta villages of Godavary and Kistna were in more comfortable circumstances combining agriculture with commercial pursuits. Not a few were rich, healthy and strong. They owned their own houses, carts and bullocks. Sometimes, the houses were of mud and thatched roof and sometimes of bricks and tiles. The poorer classes of ryots alone were in the hands of the village sahukars (moneylenders) who lent them little amounts for cultivation expenses at abnormal rates of interest.¹³ According to some estimates made by the Collector of Kistna at this time the average ryot was found to have a surplus income under normal circumstances. A ryot paying an annual rent of Rs. 100 spent about Rs. 50 for manuring land, paying wages to hired labourers, purchasing salt and other expenses. The value of the outturn of the land was estimated to be about Rs. 300. After deducting from it the annual rent on the land cess, there remained a balance of Rs. 150. Of this, Rs. 100 was to go towards the family whose labour was the mainstay of the farm and the balance was spent on lending, paying interest on old debts, purchasing ornaments or celebrating marriages. The ryots in most cases had large families consisting of 20 to 30 souls all of whom worked on the fields. Hired labour was used only in times of transplantation.¹⁴

A ryot paying a rent of Rs. 100 was having 2 to 3 pairs of bullocks and one or two cows whose calves he used to sell. But, in favourable seasons, the ryots had to carry on cultivation by taking loans and it was found that about 1/3 of the families were in debt, their debts amounting to half of their annual income.

The land tenures were mainly of 3 types, *ryotwari*, *zamindari*, and *inamdar*. In the Ceded Districts, it was mainly *ryotwari* as opposed to the *zamindari* in the Circars. Besides these two were the Inamdar lands, which were also known as *shrotrioms*, *jaghirs*, *maniems*, etc., with regard to which the Government had waived its right to assessment or to a portion of it as a reward for past services to be executed as long as

the *inams* were held. Many of the *inams* were granted by former Governments subject to various conditions, but many had been enfranchised within 20 years prior to 1880, the right of Government to prevent alienations or to resume or to demand service having been continued.¹⁵

In the matter of effecting improvements to lands, the ryot in the Ceded Districts was more independent than the zamindari ryot in Northern Circars. In Ganjam, according to the testimony of the Collector, the Oriya zamindars proved to be the most grasping landlords and the least enlightened. They collected 50% or more of the yield of the land leaving very little for improvement on irrigation works. They leased their villages to middlemen and the under-tenants, deprived of all chances of forming capital, were little better than serfs. The bulk of ryots would have Government management with joy.¹⁶

In Nuzvid Zamindari, in Kistna district, it was usual to fix once every five years a certain amount of shist on each village taking into account the circumstances then existing, the nature of the crops and the soil and to take joint *muchilakas* with 6 dry or 3 wet kists from the pattadars and Kurnams of every village with the condition that: (i) lands shall not be relinquished before the prescribed term, (ii) for losses arising out of excess or failure of rain they shall hold themselves responsible and the prescribed rent shall be paid whether the land be cultivated or not, (iii) payment made after time shall be charged interest at 1 per cent. per month, (iv) no cultivation should be carried on before obtaining patta after the termination of the prescribed time, (v) individual *muchilaks* shall be presented apportioning the total amount of *muchilaks* on different descriptions of land, viz., the best, the middling and inferior, (vi) all shall be severally and jointly responsible for the individual rent . . . some villages had the same rates for the best and the worst land, while others had the least rates for the best and highest for the worst land. The best lands were possessed by Kurnams, pattadars and the rich merchants. There were hundreds of rates in each taluka and they varied according to the caste, community, loyalty and otherwise of the landholder.¹⁷

The zamindari tenure was profitable to the zamindari and oppressive to the tenant. No ryot was sure of his tenure for more than the period of lease and any improvements he had effected were turned against him by way of enhancing rents or his ousting him to place another. Again under the system of joint

liability, he was held responsible for the land with which he had really nothing to do. The rents were doubled in this way within a period of ten years. If no one was willing to pay the price demanded the lands were included under the *Kamatams* or the home farm lands.¹⁸

For these reasons, the ryots in the zamindary areas were reluctant to carry out any improvements in the land. In Vizag, much activity was shown for some time by the ryots in Government taluks in sinking private wells at small cost as the water was always near the surface, but the zamindary ryots always hesitated to sink their funds in agricultural improvements. In Kistna, between 1871-72 and 1875-76 no less than 1,000 wells were sunk by ryots on Government lands while no improvements were risked in zamindary lands. In Cuddapah and Kurnool too improvements were effected on Government lands where there was security of tenure, but even there the sub-renters, deterred by insecurity, did precious little. The greater readiness of the ryot in Ceded Districts to effect improvements compared to the ryot in Circars was also due to the lack of sufficient irrigation sources for successful cultivation to pay the heavy land revenue which was equally heavy in incidence as in Circars.¹⁹

Communications were still in a primitive state. Roads constructed on black cotton soil were impassable in wet weather. In Kistna the means of communication by roads were very indifferent, with the exception of the bridges and metal roads. The existing roads were not in good working order nor were they sufficient for traffic. In all, metal roads were virtually closed for wheel traffic during the rains.²⁰ The road mileage and the cost of conveyance were as follows :

Means of Communications Available

District	Area sq. miles	Miles of Road	Cost of conveying one ton Rs. A. P.	Eullocks Pack Rs. A. P.
Ganjam (excluding hill tracts)	2,593	820	0 2 4	---
Vizagapatam	5,303	632	0 2 0	---
Godavary	6,224	702	0 4 0	---
Kistna	8,036	774	0 3 6	0 3 0
Nellore	8,462	740	0 3 2	---
Cuddapah	8,367	879	0 4 0	0 8 0
Bellary	11,007	1412	0 2 10	---
Kurnool	7,358	441	0 3 0	---

The inadequate means of communications and the heavy land revenue assessments added to the miseries brought about by the inclemencies of weather. But in the succeeding seven years, from 1870-76, the rainfall was considered fairly normal.

Until 1875 the monsoons were normally favourable and the prices were low and steady. In 1876 the monsoon failed in Bellary. Relief works were authorised even as early as October 1875. But, once again, the situation went out of control in a very short time. In January the number was 80,000, two months after 300,000, by June it was 491,949, while labourers on relief works fell from 900,000 to 674,000. Disabled people had to be collected in farms and had to be given free doles and cooked food. This system resulted in increasing wandering and idleness. For some time, the District Officials were allowed to grant relief in their own places instead of allowing the people to go about, but this method was soon suspected to be exposing itself to loose supervision. Efforts were made to reorganise this system of relief. The Governor toured the areas and complained on (i) the defective carrying power of the railways, (ii) the inutility of the works on which the majority of the relief labourers were employed, the enormous number on gratuitous relief, the necessity for large schemes of public works of lasting utility for which proper supervision was the backbone. To these complaints the answer was shown in the reduced Temple wage which had thoroughly demoralised the whole scheme of public relief. In his indiscriminate anxiety to reduce Government expenditure Sir Richard Temple reduced the wage of labourers from annas two to annas one and a half and grain from $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. to 1 lb. Many prominent publicists complained against the shortsightedness of these recommendations and their probable harmful effects for which Temple's answer was to "watch, wait and see". He said a few weeks on this wage would show whether any signs of physical depression would manifest themselves among the labourers and accordingly recommended the following wages which were accepted by the Madras Government.

Under supervision of the Public Works Department or where the task work was not less than 25% below ordinary work was enforced, the rates of wages were :

For a man—the value of 1 lb. of grains plus 1 anna.

For a woman—the value of 1 lb. of grain plus $\frac{1}{2}$ anna.

For a boy—the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of grain plus $\frac{1}{2}$ anna.

Under non-professional supervision where not less than

50% or below ordinary task was enforced :

- . For a man—value of 1 lb. of grain plus $\frac{1}{2}$ anna.
- For a woman—value of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of grain plus $\frac{1}{2}$ anna.
- For a boy—the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of grain plus $\frac{1}{4}$ anna.

All the officers appointed on relief operations were asked to note carefully the effects of the reduced wage on labourers. This altered system was found to be notoriously inadequate and the Government Sanitary Commissioner protested stating that 1 lb. of grain and $\frac{1}{2}$ anna did not supply enough nitrogenous nutrition for a person's support. This view was supported by several officers in charge of relief works. Many persons were found to be gathering in gangs failing in strength due to insufficient food and bad health and had to be placed on lighter work or had to be given free allowance if unable to work. In spite of trenchant opposition based on facts, the Temple wage was not too soon abandoned till it was once again attacked by the Sanitary Commissioner who explained the impossibility of carrying out the physical tests of ability suggested by Temple for studying the after effects of a reduced wage because the relief works were scattered over thousands of square miles and were indifferently supervised, because a week or two of low living while doing much harm might still give no results measurable by the eye or sight.²¹ The ill-advised scheme of Sir Richard Temple to the Government appeared to be the true version rather than the glaring distress that was everywhere pitifully prevalent. The length and breadth of Ceded Districts appeared a barren waste. At the Public Works at Nandyala and Kurnool, the gangs appeared too feeble and weak to work. At Dupad, 5,000 workers were found in deplorable condition. Deaths by the wayside were not uncommon. Innumerable families had left their homes in quest of food and many died on their way while wandering in the neighbouring districts. In Bellary, the workers on public works were grouped in gangs on the supervision of a maistry but even there pestilence and fever raged fiercely and killed many. Due to the large congregation that gathered everywhere cholera broke out and roads bore the appearance of battle-fields besides being filled up with the dead, the dying and those recently attacked.²² Bellary was barren and had no crops or fodder for the cattle. Cholum which was usually sold at 23 seers a rupee was not available even at 8 seers. Well-to-do ryots of the place were selling their bullocks at Re. 1/- per head or 8 seers of Cholum. About 23,000 people were on relief wage and the

monthly expenditure of Rs. 22 lakhs was brought down to Rs. 14 lakhs by adopting the Temple wage. The position was equally bad in Cuddapah and Kurnool despite the whitewashing of the misery by Temple in his tours. He very complacently remarked that there were a few starvation deaths here and there and these were common even under the traditional system of rule. A more insecure system of administration to rely upon in such an emergency could not be conceived. He did everything to suppress the ravages of famines in disgraceful undertones which were soon baffled by the factual observations of another disinterested British official of the Provincial Government. "If the condition of the labouring classes was so satisfactory, how is it that the numbers actually perished even is not fully known." Hundreds and thousands have died away from their homes, fallen on the road side and their bodies were left on the road side to be eaten by dogs and jackals. The Sub-Collector of Cuddapah spoke of several unburied bodies scattered all over. Many indignant observers felt, "it would be better to shoot down the poor wretches than to prolong their misery by way of the Temple wage. The public and the press were also very vehement in condemning the Temple wage. In Cuddapah very few were considered fit to work. Women were equally in a bad condition and had to be drafted to gratuitous relief."²³

It cost many precious lives, a lot of wastage of public funds and gratuitous relief before Government could be convinced about the unrealistic approach of Sir Richard Temple to the question of famine relief. He came to see a particular picture and he saw that alone and none other. He travelled with unexampled rapidity to secure the object in view, struck large numbers off the works, reduced the wages, wrote a number of dispatches and finished his task in three months. "It does not seem unfair to judge him from his minutes to assume that his main idea was to impress on the Government that it was an exaggeration and no real famine."

At last the Government of Madras was forced to give up the reduced wage in view of the mounting evidence against it by May 1877 and the first method under Temple wage was made universal. Besides that, the public and the private agencies pooled their resources to meet the distress. Private committees were formed to distribute clothing, medicines and loans for agriculturists, weavers, and other occupations who were able to help themselves with a small start. About Rs. 36 lakhs of

private funds were distributed among the agriculturists and non-agriculturists in the Ceded Districts and Nellore.

The total expenditure incurred from the beginning of the famine till March 1880 was Rs. 630 lakhs allowing a credit of Rs. 30 lakhs for excess railway rates and Rs. 26-2/3 lakhs for grain recoveries. The heaviest expenditure was in 1878-79 which was Rs. 440 lakhs. Loss of revenue was estimated to be Rs. 191 lakhs. The total loss was about 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ million sterling. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions were spent on relief works which might have been productive. Money advances to the extent of Rs. 3,80,900 for purchase of seed and grain, Rs. 14,19,000 for construction of tanks and wells and Rs. 12 lakhs as advances to weavers were spent in addition besides heavy loss of land revenue each year from 1875 to 1880.

The Government policy in these famines was very peculiar. "On the one hand, the Governor-General had issued an order laying on the District Officers the responsibility for all the deaths occurred. On the other hand, the Government was anxious to uphold the principle that it was the responsibility of the public to support the sick and the aged. To enforce family responsibility among masses of starving immigrants who flocked to the relief houses was as impossible as the total prevention of deaths from want. The moral obligation of endeavouring to offer direct support to all who should demand it which indeed had always been acted upon in practice was then finally acknowledged in principle. But, the hope of preventing all mortality had to be inevitably surrendered."²⁴

In 1873, Sir Bartle Frere suggested regularisation of trade, systematization of works and adequate care to acquire accurate information regarding crop conditions as effectual remedies for mitigating the distress. The ignorance of social conditions demonstrated during the famine of 1873-74 added a new incentive towards greater administrative efficiency and a new argument against the permanent settlement.²⁵ It was not till 1874 that it was recognised that if some famines could not be looked upon as abnormal and exceptional calamities it was essential that provision against a great financial obligation which they involve should be made as one of the ordinary charges of the State.²⁶ The famine of 1877 marked a point of transition in modern economic conditions.²⁷ The Government at home had explicitly laid down its policy. "The task of saving life" wrote the Secretary of State to the Government of India and to Sir Richard Temple, "irrespective of the cost is one which is beyond our power to

undertake. The embarrassment of debt and weight of taxation consequent on the expenses involved would soon become more fatal than the famine itself.”²⁸ However, with the realisation that the solution of the problem was mainly economic, the problem was not solved. Apart from purely human motives it might, under given circumstances, be more profitable to incur direct loss of life and property when the means of subsistence were deficient than to protect the one and the other at the cost of property and life in succeeding years. “The importance of firm grasp of this principle lay not only in its effects upon immediate relief methods but also upon the whole policy of preventive expenditure.”²⁹

The methods pursued by the various Provincial Governments to mitigate the distress varied considerably. In Madras, where the population affected was greater an attempt was made at importing grain, but, on the advice of the Government of India, the policy was abandoned and the trade was left wholly to private enterprise. The wisdom of this policy was questionable for, although the railway managed to carry some 4,000 tons of food daily and not less than 700,000 tons of food was imported by sea, the retailers were either unwilling or unable to supply the outlying districts and price proving prohibitive to large section of population, riots ensued.

“If the historic importance of the famine of 1873 lies in the new proposals for immediate relief then promulgated, that of 1878-80 depends rather upon the impulse which it gave towards more extensive protective measures and great elaboration of preparatory organisation”.³⁰

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CHAPTER IV

REVENUE SETTLEMENTS

(1865-1880)

Ryotwary as well as zamindary land tenure continued to change the incidence of revenue on the peasant in opposition to their own tenets in view of the anxiety of the Home Government to enhance its income and its improper understanding of the proper basis of land holding in this country. There was no common understanding between the local authorities as to the relation of the Government with the local occupants of the soil. In the face of the prevailing understanding that the land revenue was an amount fixed permanently, there was a tendency to increase steadily the ratio of demand on land. It was preferred to have a reassessment of land every 30 years on the basis of a moiety of its net produce computed into money at an average of the prices ruling during a certain number of assessment years.¹ Some senior administrators had protested deprecating the wide disturbances that would be caused in the value of landed property due to the operations of the settlements which might be properly called the work of the unsettlement department.² Lord Cornwallis proceeded on the assumption that the state is the proprietor of the soil and hence recommended progressive share in the rental of the lands. But, there were others like John S. Mill who maintained in a return to the House of Commons that land throughout India is generally private property subject to payment of revenue. Sir C. Wood, in 1864, affirmed that the assessment was revenue and not rent and the greatest possible latitude must be shown to the peasant. All the same, the Government proceeded on the theory of rent rather than of revenue contrary to all professions and indifferent to all protests from disinterested authorities on this problem. The Government were reluctant to taking 50% of the produce of the soil to the coffers of the State, in the countries where private property was absolute and it would find its way back through the channels of agricultural improvement. But, here the amount of produce that was diverted was not only large, but it was also uncertain. The percentage itself was uncertain varying with the views of the successive Governments and the amount actually assessed even within the prescribed limits was

uncertain varying with the accidents of the season, with the character of the cultivators, with the judgement and knowledge of the Settlement Service. Hence, security and permanence which were the two essential conditions of agricultural prosperity became casualties of the capricious whims of the Government. Volumes had been written on the vexed question whether the Government collection from the land was rent or revenue with little advantage to the ryot. Sir Louis Mallet wanted the Government to recognise that land dues were revenue and not rent. The practical difference between rent and revenue was very palpable to the cultivator ; under the rent theory, these payments were a portion of his gross produce, limited by the condition of his first paying wages and profits ; under the Ryotwar, they were unlimited either way save by the mercy of the Government."³ Lord Salisbury came to the conclusion that the fiscal relation of the Government to the cultivator continued to be obtrusive and inconvenient to the administrator. "If we say it is rent, he will hold the Government in strictness entitled to all that remains after wages and profits have been paid and he will do what he can to hasten the advent of the day when the State shall no longer be kept by any local compromises from the enjoyment of its undoubted rights. If we persuade him that it is revenue, he will note the vast proportion of its incidence compared to other taxes and his efforts would tend to remedy this inequality and to lay upon other classes and interests a more equitable share of his fiscal burden. So much of revenue is being exported without any direct benefit to the people from whom it is being collected. Ultimately the policy followed was "that as India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to those parts where the blood is congested or at least sufficient, not to those which are already feeble due to want of it".⁴ These prevailing conceptions of Government's rights to extract as much as possible from the soil found an echo in the absurd interpretation of the Rent Recovery Act regarding the rights of the tenant and the zamindar with regard to the fixity of land revenue. Regulations XXV and XXX regarding the fixity of tenure and rent of the land assessment remained unaltered till the passing of the Rent Recovery Act in 1865." Patta regulation remained in force for 6 years from 1802. Landholders all the while went on disputing both the concepts and fighting for their right of enhancing land revenue, to have it declared that Permanent Settlement meant not a permanent settlement of the land revenue, but only of the

Peishcush, giving them absolute powers to enhance the land revenue. Backed up by wealth and influence, they carried on their fight till an English judge Mr. Collet gave a judgment in their favour which cut at the very roots of the Permanent Settlement in Madras, worsening the condition of the ryots.

For a proper assessment of land revenue, survey and settlement were essential. From 1859 onwards survey operations were begun in most of the districts to know the accurate extent and value of land under several categories and settlements were begun in 1866. From the time of the Permanent Settlement, Government was given a share of the produce. From 1866, a periodical revision of the rates with regard to changes in prices was thought to be essential.

Even the Board of Enquiry reported in 1852, that the prices except for the two immediately preceding years, were extremely low and hence it did not go with the question of prices and their fluctuations, because in their opinion the price of grain was one of the ingredients out of many that enter into the composition of the rates of land assessment and its pressure and because of the information respecting investigations which are in progress with a view to the reduction of the assessment, where its pressure is found to be heavy".

Four Survey and Settlement parties were first employed and later on a fifth one, to carry out operations in Godavary, Kistna, Nellore and Malabar.

Survey operations were first finished in Godavary West, Kistna, Nellore and East Godavary districts. Demarcation was completed and revenue was increased by Rs. 3½ lakhs. An inam commission was appointed in 1859-60, to investigate into the nature of all inams and in spite of the several irregularities and incorrect measurements of the inams it had reported about, the Commission undoubtedly did some service in throwing some light on the nature of inams existing at the time. In Godavary and Kistna there was much difficulty in ascertaining the value and extent of inams. In Guntur, Nellore and Kurnool inams had to be assessed for the first time. In the Ceded Districts, a regular survey was carried out once again to know the nature of different tenures. In Rajahmundry in East Godavary, a considerable extent of land was fully or partially exempt from the assessment under the designation of *Asalmiah Lands, Pati Peradus, Badi Badlands*. . . . These were alienated lands by the zamindars to the relations, whose origin of the tenure was lost

in obscurity. Long prescriptive enjoyment, either free of tax or on favourable terms, gave them the right to continue. Like these, were also the 'Mokasas'—villages alienated by ancient zamindars in favour of their relations, kinsmen, military retainers, militia peons and revenue servants, etc. One of the objects of the permanent Settlement was to put a stop to all these feudal relics and to make the zamindars responsible for all the village land. In course of time, the position of the mokasdars was lost sight of. The rights of the zamindars even were not clearly understood. Mokasas were also interfered with, by the revenue officials, like ordinary inams.

In Masulipatam and Kistna districts, there were exceptional settlements like Tribhagam, Chaturbhagam, Putlakattubadi, Rayat Mokasa, all of which pay a gross proportion of the yield to the Government. These villages were usually assessed arbitrarily for ten years and the Government demand was realized by direct settlements with the ryots. In Godavary and Kistna, inamdar 'Jodi' (payment) was calculated at so much per candy. Hence, the advantages of enfranchisement were lost to the inamdar as they were subjected to the vexatious uncertainty of a fluctuating demand. In Guntur, the position was still more precarious as a number of villages and inams were subject to a quit rent supposed to be illegally imposed upon them by the zamindars. In Nellore, a number of Polygars or petty chieftains enjoyed mokasa inams given to them in lieu of military service in olden times on which they collected very heavy fees which were sought to be commuted on a payment of a quit rent by them. In Ceded Districts, a number of villages were known as 'Hisa Shrotriems' where the revenue was shared between the holders and the Government. The Shrotriems were restored to the owners to convert them into freehold properties on fair commuted quit rents. In Kurnool, *inamati patti* on inams of doubtful validity were sought to be abolished even if they continued from the time of the Kurnool Nawabs.⁵

In Kurnool and the Ceded Districts service inams were retained wherever they were extensive by enfranchising them to the extent of 5/8th of the assessment or ten annas in the rupee.

After finishing of the survey, resettlements of revenues were made in the several districts on the basis of the Scheme reports submitted by the respective authorities. The early method of joint rents and sharing methods were found to be disadvantageous and discredited. In the deltaic districts improved water faci-

lities brought river channels within a distance of 5 miles to every village and this increased the demand for water as well as wet cultivation in the Godavary district. While paddy was the staple produce of wet lands, occasionally black paddy, cholum, cumbu, ragi also continued to be sown. Besides there were the crops of sugarcane, chillies, turmeric, cocoanuts, plantains, tobacco in the gardens and Lankas.

Area of Lankas according to Survey and Revenue Accounts

Taluks	As per Revenue A/Cs		As per Survey		Percentage of Excess
	Acres	Sq. Miles	Acres	Sq. Miles	
Mogeltore	2,731	4.26	4143.21	6.47	51.70
Tanuku	1,513	2.36	1931.49	3.02	27.62
Relangi	1,286	2.01	1497.24	2.34	16.40
TOTAL	5,530	8.63	7571.94	11.83	36.92

During the 17 years preceding the Settlement of 1865, there were several draughts, famines, floods, due to which prices rose enormously and fell down to low depths on other occasions. In fixing rates which were to remain undisturbed over a period of years, the base must be a moderate one and not the prevailing high prices even of 1861. Absence of floods and famines may prevent the occurrence of high prices. "The prospective circumstances of the districts forbid the idea that excess of production can even bring low price. When once every part of the district is provided with cheap and direct water communications with a port which in its turn is a feeder of European markets, all danger of excessively low prices is also at an end." Moreover as long as rice is required in London market, its price can never fall unduly low.⁶ On these presumptions, the commutation rates were taken for white paddy, black paddy, kambu, ragi and cholum at Rs. 72, 60, 60, 66 and 84 per garce and Rs. 12, 10, 10, 11 and 14 per putty respectively.

The cultivation expenses given by the ryots varied widely in their figures due to confusion of inclusion and exclusion of several items of expenses. The cost of cultivating tobacco was considerable and calculated to be Rs. 33.3 per acre which, with increased labour costs, reached even Rs. 35. Even then its cultivation was considered highly remunerative.

The cultivation expenses in the case of cholum varied, according to some estimates submitted, from Rs. 4-12-0 to Rs. 3-0-0, of Kambu from Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 2-0-0, of Ragi from Rs. 4-0-0

to Rs. 3-0-0, of Black paddy from Rs. 4-0-0 to Rs. 3-8-0, and White paddy from Rs. 5-8-0 to Rs. 3-8-0. The settlement rates of revenue had to be fixed on the basis of these commutation rates and cultivation expenses.

But an exception had to be made in the case of Lankas (Islands) as they would not be assessed in the ordinary manner. They constantly changed, new lankas appearing every year and the old ones disappearing. Certain lankas which might be capable of paying Rs. 50 per acre one year may be covered up by sand and may be worthless next year. Under such circumstances permanent land marks on long term assessments would become out of question. If a permanent field war assessment was to be made there should be an annual survey and settlement which would be both troublesome and expensive. In view of these difficulties the settlement of lankas was supposed to be left to the discretion of the Collectors and entered into with the ryots of the villages to which they belonged. Taking productive power, commutation prices and cultivation expenses and deducting the full gross produce on account of the extra risk attending the cultivation in the bed of the river 1/4th in the place of 1/6th as proposed for the mainland cultivation, the rates proposed for the 1st and 2nd class lankas were as follows :

	30% Gross Rs. as. ps.	2/3 net Rs. as. ps.	1/2 net Rs. as. ps.
1st Sort	33 12 0	51 10 8	38 12 0
2nd Sort	28 2 0	39 7 8	29 6 0

The average rates paid so far for the tobacco lands per acre varied in the three taluks of Mogeltore, Tanuku and Relangi from Rs. 15 to Rs. 18. The actual rates paid in other parts were still higher. "If rates were to be adopted which would amount to 30% of the gross produce, the assessment had to be materially raised. But, as the Board does not desire high rates, Rs. 20 and Rs. 12 were proposed as the rates for the first and second rate lankas".⁷

In first class villages, the dry rates with water and consolidated wet rate ranged from Rs. 8 to 4, in the second class villages from Rs. 7 to Rs. 3 and in the 3rd class villages from Rs. 6-8-0 to Rs. 2-8-0. There were about 10 rates in the 1st class and 15 rates in the 2nd and 3rd class villages.

A water rate of Rs. 3 per acre was included in these rates which were computed on the basis of 30% of the Gross produce and 2/3 and half of the net produce for the different series with

different grains, prices and commutation rates.

In Government taluks for lands and irrigation, the financial result of the settlement was an increase of Rs. 3,22,989 or 48% on the revenue of fasli 1269 (1859-60). The increase of course varied from village to village. In reviving the settlement rates proposed, Mr. R. S. Master said, the proportion laid down by Government i.e. 1/2 the net produce has been steadily kept in view in forming the rates. Though in some cases they were higher and in some cases lower, the variations were justified to maintain the proportion of 30% of the gross produce which the Government declared as the maximum demand. Though every effort had been made to get correct information on the subject of cultivation expenses, the results obtained could not be relied upon as mathematically accurate which in some cases would lead to needless sacrifice of revenue and in other cases imposition of burdensome rates.⁸

Settlements were also made in 1865 in other eastern and central delta villages, e.g. 58 delta villages in Narsapur ; the rest were all upland villages, 4 in Tanuku, 114 in Amalapur, 132 in Ramachandrapuram, 62 in Peddapuram, 78 in Rajahmundry, 42 in Ellore, and 51 in Yernagudem.*

The areas differed as per old revenue accounts and survey settlement returns in Government, Inam and Poramboke lands, the difference ranging from 87 to 30 acres.

Classified area under cultivation was 3,90,708 acres, wastage 81,162, Inams 2,36,997 acres, the total coming to 7,08,868 acres.

The commutation rates adopted per garce and per putty of White paddy were Rs. 72 and 12, Black paddy Rs. 60 and 10, Cholum Rs. 84 and 14, Cumbu Rs. 60 and 10, Ragi Rs. 66 and 11, Horse gram Rs. 96 and 16, Tobacco 40 (putty of 20 maunds), Sugarcane 15 (putty of 20 maunds) respectively.

The rates of settlement for dry lands proposed by Mr. Master were Rs. 2-13-9 in Narsapur delta, Rs. 3-4-9 in Amalpuram delta, Rs. 3-0-7 in Ramchandrapur delta, Rs. 0-13-1 in Peddapuram upland, Rs. 1-1-7 in Rajahmundry upland, Rs. 0-10-5 in Ellore upland and Rs. 1-3-8 in Yernagudem upland. The average consolidated wet rates per acre were Rs. 3-2-9, 3-11-3, 2-9-0 and 2-12-0 in uplands of Peddapuram, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Yernagudem.

The water rate of Rs. 3 per acre for a single crop was to be added to the dry rate in the delta for the wet assessment. The Lanka lands producing tobacco were assessed at Rs. 20,

Rs. 12 and Rs. 10 per acre owing to the joint renting system and other circumstances, but a strict comparison of the previous and proposed rates could not be obtained. As far as could be obtained, the charge for water and land at the new rates would have been Rs. 12,61,885 in fasli 1273, while the joint rents in that year were Rs. 12,49,671, the increase by the new rates being Rs. 12,214. In this calculation only 20 out of 42 villages transferred from Kistna were included and the details for the other 22 villages were not available.¹⁰ In deltas, the money rates varied from Rs. 20 per acre to Annas 6 per acre and in between these there were 16 rates. In dry uplands, there were 17 rates varying from Rs. 20 to Annas 4 per acre and in wet uplands, there were 15 rates varying from Rs. 10 per acre to Rs. 1-4-0 per acre.

After making these proposals, the Director of Settlements remarked, "Considering their generally remote situation, the entire absence of canals and the general unfavourable condition in which cultivation is carried on, a deduction of 10 from the half value of the net produce may be allowed. For wet lands, the reduction may be 15% from the half net produce."¹¹ But the Government felt accepting his suggestion of these reductions would be "an unnecessary sacrifice of revenues though it is true that taluks suffer from want of roads, are in poorer circumstances and the additional assessment made would mean an increase of 50% over the present assessment . . . because to reduce the rates is to provide for a permanent disability."¹² So they declined to sanction the reduction of 10 and 15% from the net proposed, but authorised the introduction of the proposed rates.

After a good deal of controversy, discussions and negotiations a uniform water rate of Rs. 3 per acre in East Godavary district and the district of Kistna was ultimately accepted as a reasonable adjunct to the land revenue to be paid separately without including in land assessment.¹³ In Kistna district assessment operations were first commenced in 1859 and the settlement area comprised of 1,808 sq. miles consisting of (i) Gudivada, (ii) Bandar, (iii) Pedana, (iv) Kaikalur, (v) Divi, (vi) Bezwada, (vii) Ellore, (viii) Gunda Golasu, (ix) Nandigama, (x) Jaggiah Peta, excluding the zamindaries.¹⁴

The area of the revenue taluks compared with survey areas revealed an excess of 12½% over the former, the difference varying from 9 to 17% in the taluks of Gudivada, Bandar and Pedana in West Godavary.

For arriving at correct commutation rates, the same diffi-

culty as in Godavary was experienced in obtaining correct price lists for a series of past years, the accounts being very imperfect, unsatisfactory and spread over a number of famine years with fluctuating prices. The same standard rates of settlement as in Godavary were followed, the share of the Government kept at 1/2 to 1/3 of the net produce. The general scale of dry rates for the whole district ranged from a maximum of Rs. 4 per acre to Annas 4 per acre and the scale of consolidated rates per acre for tank irrigation in the upper taluks ranged from Rs. 6-8-0 to Rs. 2-8-0.¹⁵

The average rates in the deltas were Rs. 2-2-3 on the cultivation and Rs. 1-9-10 on waste or Rs. 1-13-4 on both together. In the upper taluks they were Rs. 1-2-8 on cultivation and Rs. 0-14-9 on waste the average of the whole district being Rs. 1-10-7 on cultivation and Rs. 1-5-9 on waste. According to Mr. Master, the Director of Revenue Settlements, the rates proposed meant an increase of Rs. 2 in the revenue per year.¹⁶

The settlement rates introduced in Masulipatam and Guntur too were on the same basis as in the rest of the district. In Masulipatam about 76 villages and in Guntur about 7 villages were badly affected by heavy inundation, but no differences in the assessment were shown on the plea that the rates could be paid when the ryots would recover to their former position.¹⁷

Despite the supreme complacency displayed by those in authority, it could not be long concealed that the fresh rates overstrained the harassed peasantry. In Guntur alone, the relinquishments sadly and regrettably enough began to increase by 1874. But the Collectors were asked to avert this catastrophe by distributing the increased assessment over 3 to 5 years as may be found necessary. Even in cases of admitted hardship, the ryots will not be compelled to relinquish their land on account of over-assessment.¹⁸

The efforts of the Government could not stop the large scale relinquishment of land by the ryots in Guntur and Kistna districts.¹⁹ In Repalle there were under cultivation, in 1818, more acres than those before the settlement and the increased revenue to the State was Rs. 1,11,050. But, in Fasli 1284, an area of 4,830 acres had been relinquished due to increase of rent. In Bapatla, the revenue increased by Rs. 51,343, while the greater part of the increased acreage under cultivation was given up for fear of increased rents. In Sattanapalli, the acreage under cultivation fell down by 185 acres due to the same reason. In Vinu-

konda, the fall was by 256 acres. In Guntur, the total loss in acreage was 5,093 within 4 years of the settlement. Everywhere the reason given for relinquishment of the land was the higher rates.²⁰

Mr. Branbury, the Director of Revenue Settlements, had himself to admit in a dispatch to the Board of Revenue that "I must not omit to mention that the demand in Guntur and Kistna is unavoidably raised as much as 100% so that we may anticipate some relinquishment as in Godavary, but the registered lands may come again under occupation as the rates are worked out carefully."²¹ It was a convenient argument for refusing revision. The first effects of the settlement were large scale evacuation of land by the ryots who left being unable to pay the rates, but the Government refused to revise the rates, as the Secretary of State for India felt that the evacuation was only temporary and there were no grounds for the apprehension that the rates were heavy.²²

The ryot's confidence was expected to be gradually restored along with which there would be more applications for land and not any grounds for reductions.²³ The Board of Revenue echoed the same sentiments. "The people were generally pleased with the settlement. It has commanded such approbation that there is every prospect of the cultivable waste land being taken up."²⁴ In Guntur, the 'cesses' in addition to the assessment will raise the demand on land in some taluks to more than 'half the net'. Hence the Board of Revenue was directed to see that "what remains to the cultivator after paying all Government demands shall be sufficient to him."²⁵

In Ganjam and Vizag, settlements were made in Berhampore and Chicacole. Commutation rates for paddy and Ragi were taken at Rs. 93-5-0 and Rs. 105 per acre based on the accounts for the preceding 20 years. The cultivation expenses in both the districts were low due to cheapness of labour.²⁶ A rate of Rs. 5½ was the highest for wet lands applied to the 2nd class lands of Chicacole and the very best ones of Berhampore, yielding an increase of Rs. 15,904 in the former and Rs. 16,264 in the later taluks or 1/6 of the irrigated area. With the Rs. 3½ rate which applied to ¼ of the irrigated area, there was an increase of Rs. 6,967 in Chicacole and Rs. 15,113 in Berhampore. The application of Rs. 4 and 2½ dry rates to the wet lands of these taluks showed an increase of Rs. 511 and 1,185 acres. In the Rs. 2 rate of these taluks showed an increase of Rs. 976 on

5,875 acres, and in the lower rates there was an increase of Rs. 1,146 on 74,231 acres.²⁷ In Kurnool, settlements were made in taluks of Ramalkota, Nandikotkur, Nandial and Sirvel with an area of 2,800 sq. miles and a population of 3,32,300 souls.²⁸ Standard crops selected were white Jowar for the regu clay and Araga for the red clay soils. The commutation prices were taken for the previous 20 years including famine and exceptional seasons. The cultivation expenses ranged from 12 annas to Rs. 5-2-1 per acre, the value of straw being set off against the keeping up of cattle. The money rates calculated on the above data were based on taking half the net produce as the share of the Government. They ranged from Rs. 3½ to annas 4 per acre and included both the village service fee and the road cess.

This settlement resulted in an increase of Rs. 22,653 over the previous assessment and yielded a total revenue of Rs. 7,10,752. Out of the increased earnings of about Rs. 12,976 were proposed to be spent on roads for the benefit of the ryots. The Board was apprehensive that the new assessment was higher than the district could bear especially when the large extent of inam was charged with quit rent in commutation of the revisionary claims of the State on them. The commutation price of Rs. 105 which was taken as the basis was the highest in the presidency. This meant a considerable addition of burden on the ryots by increasing the revenue to the tune of Rs. 1 lakh over that of the last 20 years. Still, the Government saw no reason to reduce the commutation prices. They regarded, "the settlement affair, moderate and well within the means of the people."²⁹

In Cuddapah, settlement was proposed in the taluks of Budwel, Pullampeta and Sidhout comprising an area of 1,430 sq. miles. The average revenue during Fasli 1271-80 was Rs. 4,01,363 which was Rs. 30,000 below that of Ryotwar Settlement during the earlier years. The original settlements of Sir Thomas Munroe still continued with deduction of 25% on dry and wet lands and 33% on garden lands. Still, the rates were very high reaching Rs. 35 per acre in wet and Rs. 5-8-0 in dry areas. So in 1869, all the garden lands were brought down to the highest dry rates, involving a revenue sacrifice of Rs. 61,566 on occupied lands and Rs. 14,672 on unoccupied lands.³⁰ The Board considered this an unnecessary sacrifice of revenue.

The percentage of inam lands to arable Government area was 31% or half as in north-west taluk of Jammalamadugu.

The proportion of small holdings was very high as Pattadars paying less than Rs. 10 were shown to comprise 73% of the entire rent roll. During the dull season, the Pattadars engaged themselves in Forest or Public Works or in Indigo vats. Till the introduction of the new settlement, there were as many as 187 different rates of assessment in 'wet' and 404 rates in 'dry' areas, the existing 'dry' rates ranging from Rs. 0-1-2 to Rs. 11-10-8 and the 'wet' from Rs. 0-3-0 to Rs. 35.

These areas were situated in the richest valley by the river side, occupying all the favourable sites consisting of about 70% of the classified area. There were as many as 9,447 irrigation works inclusive of those constructed by Government, private agencies and Dasabandam wells. The same method of settlement as adopted for northern taluks, was followed here also. The grain values settled for 'Kora' were considered fair and moderate. The commutation rates were the same as in other parts of the province and Jammalamadugu. They were Rs. 139 for Jonna, Rs. 100 for Korra and Rs. 140 for Paddy per garce. The cultivation expenses allowed were the same as for other taluks. Half the net value had been acquired in the usual manner. There were 13 rates for the wet and dry lands. The dry rates varied from Rs. 5-4-0 to Rs. 0-4-0 and wet rates from Rs. 12 per acre to Rs. 2.³¹

The final result of the settlement was an increase of Rs. 3,245 in dry and of Rs. 22,672 in wet or 7% increase on the old demand. The amount likely to be realised by the 2nd crop was about Rs. 55,000 or 25% of the entire wet land revenue. Though the Board of Revenue felt that the "incidence of revenue is sufficiently heavy to make caution necessary, they considered the settlement as a whole, fair and proper".

Settlements in Cumbam and Markapur taluks of Cuddapah were taken up next.³² Here also the rates originally fixed by Munroe with deduction of the said 25% and 33% on wet and garden lands still continued till the introduction of the new settlement. The commutation rates were the same as adopted in Pati Komala, the last taluk settled and were based on the prices prevailing for the last 20 years. The cultivation expenses also compared favourably with the rest of the district. The existing rates were numerous and confusing. There were no less than 233 dry rates, 215 wet and 161 Tirvajasti rates in Cumbam ranging from Rs. 0-5-0 to Rs. 21-2-4. The proposed rates ranged between Rs. 9-8-0 per acre in the best black cotton

soil to Rs. 0-6-0 in the lower dry areas. The unoccupied cultivable waste land was 21% in Cumbam and 43% in Markapur. It was lightly assessed at an average of Rs. 0-9-6 and Rs. 0-6-5 respectively in the 2 taluks. "The loss involved in the proposed settlement was about Rs. 9,760 or nearly 5% on the revenue of Fasli 1282, but this appeared to be unavoidable. Both taluks were exceptionally poor and backward being besides inaccessible and unhealthy. "Great moderation of assessment is indispensable" was the view of the Board of Revenue.³³

The settlements, in Koilguntla, Jammalamadugu and Proddatur proved equally heavy as the process followed even in these places was the same as in the rest of Cuddapah. In Koilguntla about 73% of the cultivable area was held in inam tenure. In settling the rates in Koilguntla as on the lines of Cuddapah and Proddatur the commutation rates were raised very high though it had none of their advantages of commercial importance or convenient means of communications. The commutation rates were fixed at Rs. 105 for Jonna and Rs. 110 for paddy. In Pattikonda, which borders on the west, the rates taken were Rs. 125 and Rs. 120 on the basis of the prices for the previous 20 years. These rates were higher than those of any other district. To increase them by 11% on jonna and 4% on paddy in a taluk which was admittedly less favourably situated as regards roads and markets could not but prove injurious to the ryots.³⁴ The money rates were admittedly high in consequence of the increased commutation rates resulting in an increase of 12% over Fasli 1274. This did not include nearly 11% that would have to be added to the assessment on account of the local and village cess.³⁵ In an over all picture, the results of the settlement in Cuddapah raised the revenue 7% beyond the revenue of 1864-65, the year of comparison. The rates varied between a maximum of Rs. 12 per acre for wet lands and Rs. 3 minimum with an average of Rs. 7-8-0 per acre. To these, however, must be added 12½% increased payments by the ryots under the head of local cesses. On lands obtaining water from the Irrigation Company canal, a water cess of Rs. 6 per acre was charged. The settlement was ultimately considered fair and accepted by the Government.

In Nellore, agriculturists formed 66% of the population in 1856. Government so far was taking 55% of the gross produce. Various charges were introduced from time to time in the Revenue Administration of the district. By 1860, the assess-

ment on wet lands was reduced by 14% and on dry lands 64%. There were great inequalities in assessment and there was an urgent demand for the revision of these rates. The revenue yield in 1866-67 and 1867-68 was Rs. 11,75,080 on 5,27,671 acres. This was proposed to be raised by Mr. Branbury to Rs. 13,50,277 by obtaining about 10,707 acres by transferring of irrigated lands from dry to wet, so that the actual increase amounted to Rs. 1,64,490 or 14% of the existing assessment. As a result of the assessment the gross amount obtained was Rs. 9,84,143 upon occupied area from 1,82,298 acres of irrigated lands of which 3% was assessed at rates from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 11 per acre, 68% at rates from Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per acre, 25% at rates from Rs. 4 to Rs. 4-8-0 per acre, and 4% at rates varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3-8-0 per acre. Similarly an assessment of Rs. 3,66,134 was derived from the occupied dry area of acres 3,45,373 of which 15% was assessed at rates varying from Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 4 per acre, 44% at Rs. 1 to Rs. 1-4-0 per acre, 30% at As. 8, As. 10 and As. 12 per acre, and 2% at As. 6 and As. 4 an acre.

Jonna and Arega were taken as standard dry crops. They occupied 87% of the dry area the remainder being taken by cotton, indigo and other valuable crops. In wet lands, paddy was the standard crop. In the calculation of the commutation rates the prices in the previous 20 years were taken with a reduction of 10% for the difference between retail and wholesale prices. In dry lands an allowance of 1/6 instead of 1/4 was allowed for the vicissitude of seasons.³⁶

In Ongole, Kandukur and Kanigiri, the settlements were made in 1870 on the basis of the prices of the previous 20 years. Ongole was well-known for its breeding stock. 80% of the pattas were single. Average cultivated area per patta was 11.21 acres and average assessment was Rs. 17. The main products were variga, pedajonna, sazza and indigo. In southern parts of Kandukur and Kanigiri, the crops were paira, arega, veraga and indigo consisting of 49%, 16%, 9% and 5% of the cultivated area. The standard grains for wet lands were black and white paddy. Kandukur was benefited by this method. Only 73% of the area was under superior grains, 16% under inferior. In Kanigiri the course adopted was unduly harsh as only 31% of the area was under the more valuable crop and 57% under other products.

The highest rate for the best Regada was Rs. 4, the same as sanctioned for Cuddapah and Re. 1 higher than that intro-

duced in Pattikonda. In Guntur, the highest rate was Rs. 3 for the best regada. For really rich regada soils, Rs. 4 was considered to be not too high. The proposed increase in dry assessment amounted to Rs. 51,838 or 11%. Taking taluk by taluk, Rs. 7,542 or 23% appertained to Kanigiri, Rs. 31,781 or 13% to Ongole and Rs. 12,515 or 7% to Kandukur. Increase in wet came to 1% or Rs. 997. Ongole came highest as it was assessed at Rs. 1-10-0 as it comprised the best tracts of land in the district. Kandukur stood next as the rates there were as high as Rs. 1-7-3, a little above the average of Gudur and Rapur. About 91% of the area was assessed at or under Rs. 2 per acre and only 9% above that sum.

For the whole district the increase was 10%. In the case of Kanigiri the increase of 23% was looked upon as rather high.³⁷

These revised settlements in Nellore had in large number of cases told with severity on the ryots. "Though it is true that similar heavy assessments were imposed in Cuddapah, Kurnool and Coimbatore, the net-half of the average annual out-turn had not on the whole been exceeded and the settlement of the district was equitable and defensible, yet the fact remains that in the case of a large number of holdings the demand has been very largely enhanced and in some doubled. It has given an impetus to a growing conviction among the educated and influential agriculturists that the spirit of the settlement operations had changed for the worse as regards the demands against the people".³⁸ These observations of Mr. Robinson on the Nellore settlement were in line with the findings of the Board of Revenue, only with this difference that the Board felt all the same imperative that this settlement should be followed up without allowing for any undue fall in revenue, because the settlement was in conformity with the accepted principles.³⁹ This complacent attitude of the Board of Revenue to the enhanced assessment called forth a severe rebuke from Government spokesman who said, "Over considerable portion of land assessed, the increase on former payments was on an average 60%, in some villages it exceeded 100% and in others 300%. It is not exaggeration to describe the popular feeling against these rates was one of astonishment and dismay. I can not think that it was ever intended by those who prescribed rules for survey and settlement that they would exercise such disastrous effects on any portion of the people. Considerations like the classification of soils, 20 years commutation rates, or half the net produce are

never intended to supersede the consideration that the welfare of people is one paramount object. Nothing has tended to shaken the faith of the natives of the country in the justice and beneficence of our rule than this sudden accumulation upon them of taxes all the more formidable, because unknown, unimagined and on which it is very difficult to persuade them that the Government which not only increases such taxes, but justifies them on the ground that they are imposed for the benefit of the people themselves. I will allow no increase in assessment more than 20% or 30% and this spread over a number of years".⁴⁰ But, all the same, he had recommended the settlement rates for the acceptance of the Secretary of State, who in his turn made some more indignant observations on the settlement. He confessed, he was not fully satisfied with the recommendations of the Governor as the Board of Revenue which had endorsed the settlement itself made the same painful observations, but, all the same, passed it stating that assessment was 'heavy' and with cesses 'very heavy', that the 'commutation rates were as high as could be safely ventured upon', the 'grain yields were high', the allowances for carriage of produce, vicissitudes of seasons, etc., were 'lower than in other districts' and 'the tendency was due to extract as much as the people can pay', that 'the district had little foreign trade' and 'that a large portion of land holders consisted of small occupants and the saleable value of land is very low'. 'The assessment from the period of our acquisition of the territory had been severe, compelling frequent reductions and remissions'. "I can not regard this state of affairs as satisfactory and before confirming the proceedings I desire to be informed how far this assessment conforms to the principle of taking not more than one half of the net produce."⁴¹ With all these formal verbal protests from the highest authorities, the rigorous effects of the settlement were in no way abated as the Board of Revenue felt, "the increased revenue assessment may be heavy, with the 'cesses' it may be 'very heavy', but the district can bear the charge".⁴²

Thus the survey and the settlement conducted in every part of the Andhra districts, had one inevitable effect of increasing the assessment on the ryots irrespective of any other considerations except that of bringing greater income to the treasury. The Board of Revenue which too was aware of the heavy nature of the demands defended them as fair and reasonable. But, in reality, these revised settlements proved fatal to

the agricultural prosperity as the enhanced assessments bore no relation to the prevailing prices and in some cases worked out 200% to 300% on the existing rates.⁴³

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CHAPTER V

AGRICULTURE

(1800-1900)

No spectacular improvement in the economic conditions of the peasant during this period was possible due to the indifference of the Government to implement any of the recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1880 and their anxiety to enhance the Land Revenue assessment by means of Survey and Settlement only added to his miseries. While the zamindars did nothing to improve the means of irrigation, they did everything to shift the burden of water tax on to the ryot. Even in Ceded Districts, the cultivators effected little improvements as they had not the means to do so very often ; or sometimes they feared, the very improvements they make, may militate against them by way of higher assessments. Inclemencies of weather, continued to effect their fortunes as ever. Every average British administrator had a tendency to make the ryot the author of his misfortunes by contemptuous references to the primitive methods of agriculture. But every expert who had lived long enough in the country to realise the difficulties he had to face, had nothing but praise for him.¹ If the productivity of the non-irrigated land was slight, it was due to the cultivator's lack of capital and lack of material suitable for fuel, manure and not due to his lack of ability or energy². The famine had always got the upper hand and with all its energy and expenditure, what Government did was small in comparison to what it left undone.³

Famine in Ceded Districts, 1885

By 1885, Cuddapah, Bellary, Anantapur had less than half the usual rainfall and the situation was "critical". In Bellary and Anantapur, the crop failure was serious. A total block of 3,000 sq. miles was affected. Gooty, Tadipatri in North Anantapur, Bellary, Alur with parts of Adoni and Rayadurg in East Bellary were faced with a steep rise in all prices. Prices of cholum stood at 18½ seers a rupee in Bellary and 21-1/3 seers in Anantapur in December 1884, against 38 seers in Bellary and 40 seers in Anantapur for the same period in the previous year. People so far used to cheap food were caught in a severe distress. By the end of 1885, the agricultural outlook was better and

Cholum had fallen to 25 seers a rupee.

Ganjam Famine, 1889

In 1888, as the south-west monsoon failed, Ganjam was affected very severely. Water and pasturage became scarce. Grain dealers refused to sell foodstuffs. As prices rose grain robberies and riots increased.⁴ Weavers were given advances, but gratuitous relief was postponed till scarcity prices came to be established; which were 11.20 seers of rice per rupee and 16.60 seers of ragi. In 1887, average price of rice was $25\frac{1}{2}$ seers and ragi 45 seers. In October 1888, rice sold at 10 seers per rupee and ragi at 25 seers. Large famine works were opened which gave employment to 4,000 labourers in January, 13,000 in February, 14,000 in March and 20,000 in April. Virulent cholera broke out and swept off 11,000 people. Civil agency works absorbed 5,000 to 10,000 persons. Lord Connemera, Governor of Madras, personally visited Ganjam by the middle of June 1889 and observed "a large amount of distress amounting to starvation existed and the most urgent action and the most prompt execution were required if the many who lived were not to be lost by the most lingering and dreadful of deaths. Public kitchens were opened and free food was distributed. Relief officers were sent to give doles of grain or money to the aged, infirm and the destitute. Revenue Board was relieved of the management of the famine relief and the Collector was directly entrusted with this task. The numbers in village relief began to rise, 22,000 in June 1889, 70,000 in July, and 93,000 by the first week of August 1889. Rs. 3.64,000 was spent on professional works, Rs. 2,45,000 on Civil and Agency works, Rs. 3,50,000 on gratuitous relief, Rs. 1,70,000 to weavers for seed and grain, Rs. 2,68,000 for Land Revenue Remissions and Rs. 3,00,000 revenue was suspended. If this money had been spent with foresight in the beginning, less money would have been wasted on gratuitous relief. Though scarcity rates had been determined to act as danger signals, they ought not to have been strained to the extent of withholding relief till prices reached that peak. The very fact that people were prepared to accept cooked food from public kitchens should have served as a pointer to the prevailing distress.

Famine of 1890-92

Failure of the north-east monsoon caused another agricultural distress over 21,300 sq. miles by the end of 1891 and 22,700 sq. miles in March 1892. Towards the close of April 1892, good

showers reduced the famine area to 17,000 sq. miles. As the south-west monsoon of 1892 was exceptionally good, it was possible to close relief works by the end of September of that year.

Relief works were opened in Kurnool, Anantapur and Bellary. In June, the average number exceeded 87,000, the highest daily total of 92,853 being reached on 18th. On this total, Nellore accounted for 22,700, Kurnool for 25,000, Bellary for 18,000, Cuddapah for 11,900. Relief kitchens were also opened.

Prices rose high. In December, Cholum, the chief staple sold at 14 seers a rupee in Bellary, 12.4 seers in Anantapur, the price normally in the previous year being 32 seers. From December 1891 to January 1892, the price fluctuated between the narrow limits of 13½ to 15 seers. In 1892, distress became very acute and food had to be imported from other places.

The long period during which scarcity and high prices prevailed over the large area affected, the scattered and shifting character of relief operations necessitated by the capricious and partial rainfall of the seasons made the administration of famines exceptionally difficult. Anyhow it was countenanced with skill and patience.⁵

Famine of 1896

Owing to the scarcity of rainfall, the cultivation was restricted mainly to the four Deccan Districts.⁶ The deficiency in cultivation as compared with the previous year fell down to 2,33,497 acres under "dry" and 21,866 acres under wet rates. The ryots were unable to make any savings. In Ganjam and Vizag, the deficiency caused the exhaustion of the prevailing stocks and the non-fulfilment of the hopes of a better monsoon worsened the situation.

Damage and loss were least in the south of Cuddapah and Anantapur, Western taluks of Bellary and North Central of Kurnool. The most seriously affected was north-west of Cuddapah, the Taluks of Kurnool immediately adjoining the North, North of Anantapur and Eastern half of Bellary. As a consequence of the loss of cultivation and attendant injury and loss, employment became scarce and limited to the labouring classes. When their position was one of hand to mouth existence even in normal times as they had very few reserves, the position became very precarious with the rise in prices and non-availability of foodstuffs.

Prices in 1895 were remarkably low for all the dry food-grains, heavily receded from the high level of recent years to

that of 1873-74. Rice also had become much cheaper than in the preceding year. But, by the end of October 1896, both rice and ragi advanced upwards by 30% ; in Vizagapatam, the dry grains became 35% dearer, in Godavary 40%, and in Kistna about 25% dearer. In all these districts, rice was very near the scarcity rate. In Deccan districts the price of Cholum which was the principal foodgrain had advanced nearly 60% to 70% in Kurnool, in Bellary and Anantapur and Cuddapah 40%. Opening of the East Coast Railway into Ganjam brought some food. The area affected in the several districts was 9,394 sq. miles and the population 13,99,377 by 1897.

The rise in prices, the scarcity of foodstuffs and the reluctance of stock holders to sell them necessitated the imports of foodstuffs by rail.

Relief works were attended by large gangs in all the Ceded Districts. As there was no gratuitous relief other than free kitchens, people engaged in public works were reluctantly compelled to accept it. In Ganjam and Vizag, the distress became noticeable because of the drain of surplus stocks to other parts from there. In March 1897, the average daily number of people in receipt of relief in the Province was 81,000 ; it rose successively to 1,57,000, 3,12,000, 5,07,000 and 7,73,000 in the months of April, May, June and July. In Deccan districts the prices rose 200% high. The whole area of Ganjam, Vizag, Godavary and Ceded Districts was ultimately hit by famine. But for Ganjam recklessly exporting its foodgrains for the previous 4 years, it would not have met with such severe crisis. Affording relief to the jungle tribes in Circars and Kurnool too was attended with serious difficulty. The efforts of the State to mitigate the distress were largely augmented by the charitable co-operation of the private agency. Many cattle died of starvation on their march to other places for want of pasturage, as there was not a blade of grass or a drop of water on the route. The famine commission said, "It is our opinion that if free grazing is to be given, it should be given soon and widely to have effect and we think that on a further occasion some plan should and could be devised for overcoming the difficulties of interfering with the claims of those who have already taken out permits."⁷ The death rate of the population rose to 24.0 in Ceded Districts and 33.2 in the Northern Circars during this famine period.

The increased mortality in the Deccan was not greater than might have been expected, while the rise in the death rate

of Northern Circars was accounted for by the unusual prevalence of Cholera and Smallpox.

Thus, the famine of 1897-98 proved a greater calamity than that of even 1876-77. The lot of agricultural land holders was better during the period 1880-1895, but the position of the agricultural and landless labour had little improved. There was no hope of salvation from the contingent calamities of famines as the attention paid to irrigation was scanty. Especially the Ceded Districts continued to be a famine tract for centuries and little was done to rescue them from the continuously precarious position of their agriculture. The proportion of normally occupied irrigated area from all sources including wells was not more than 3% in Bellary, 7% in Kurnool and 13% in Anantapur. In Cuddapah where the number of tanks and wells is large, the irrigated area comes to 20%, but in years of drought as that of 1876-78, it fell by more than 50%. On account of this scarcity of irrigation facilities, the Famine Commission of 1880 recommended abolition of water rates and exemptions of wells and irrigation improvements from additional taxation. In these four famine districts 16,000 wells irrigated only 7,600 acres in 1893 ; 500 of these were situated in Eastern Taluks of Kurnool on the banks of the Gudlakamma river where the charge of the wet assessments was long given up. About 10,000 supplemental wells were in Cuddapah.⁸ Liberal Takkavi advances were given to the cultivators during the famine years of 1890-91, 1891-92, 1896-97 and 1897-98 for improvement of irrigation facilities. The Famine Commission of 1898 reported that out of a total expenditure of Rs. 71.32 lakhs only 8% during the famine of 1898 was spent on irrigation, while the balance of 90% was spent on roads. Either in Ganjam, Vizag or in the four famine districts suitable and productive irrigation works were not constructed, even through relief operations. Out of a total expenditure of Rs. 24 lakhs in the Ceded Districts and Circars on public works, the amount spent on irrigation did not exceed Rs. 2 lakhs.

Again, there were famines in 1899, 1900, and 1901. In 1899 the scarcity and drought were not very severe and were confined to Pulivendla, Kanigiri, Proddatur and Ongole, where public works were opened. The cost of relief operations to the State came to Rs. 1,36,630.⁹ The famine of 1900 affected Narsapur and Vinukonda from where it gradually spread to Kistna, Nellore and the four Ceded Districts. Relief as usual was provided by opening of Test works. Out of Rs. 1,66,000 spent during the

famine of 1900-1901, in Ceded Districts nearly Rs. 30,000 was spent on irrigation for the improvement of wells, tank beds, and channels. The Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal was a great protective force, irrigating about 90,285 acres even by the famine period of 1876-78. In 1896-97, the area irrigated was 87,226 acres and by 1899-1900 it exceeded by 73,000 acres. Rivers, the Godavary and the Kistna, with their perennial waters and big canals stood as bulwarks against famines in the Circars, reducing their rigours to a great extent.

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CHAPTER VI

REVENUE SETTLEMENTS

(1880-1900)

In accordance with the principle of making fresh settlements every 30 years, resettlements were made and fresh rates of land Revenue were introduced during this period in East and West Godavary, Kistna, Cuddapah, Bellary and Anantapur.

By 1895, Government began to revise the prevailing Settlements in Godavary as the irrigation facilities provided had increased the fertility and productivity of the soil. The previous classification was revised as it was not made with reference to Canals, Markets and other facilities, but only with regard to the nature of the soils. All villages were grouped into three categories, and Government preferred¹ to charge an average insurance rate against drought for the water provided. "In the Godavary and Western Deltas an allowance of 16-2/3 per cent of the gross outturn was made for vicissitudes of seasons, but the reduction of this allowance would not secure an adequate insurance rate. Hence, an arbitrary but moderate assessment of 25% of the dry assessment was sought to be charged. Especially when Government water was taken for such insured lands, the water rate might be graduated with reference to the difference between the dry and wet assessment, subject to a minimum rate of Rs. 4 per acre, to which the ryots had grown accustomed and which certainly did not bar the use of water. On Zamindary and Inam lands so situated as to be unable to reject Government water, the difference between wet and dry rates, subject to a minimum of Rs. 4 was charged for water ; and on lands under these categories, irrigable but not regularly irrigated, the charge for water was proposed to be graduated on a scale ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 6, according to the classification of the soils."²

There were 34 villages in Peddapuram Taluk, 4 in the Rajahmundry Taluk and 9 in Ellore which were originally excluded from the survey on account of their hilly and backward condition. These were being leased out annually to the highest bidder. For the sake of administrative efficiency and convenience it was proposed to survey and settle these villages on a ryotwari basis.³

At the time of the revised settlement of the East Godavary,

there were available for occupation 64,198 acres of assessed waste and 2,50,248 acres of unclassified waste.⁴ The previous scheme of settlement was considered thoroughly unsuitable to be continued, because it left 148 villages in the Agency to be settled annually and divided the remaining land broadly into wet and dry, dividing all the soils into 14 classes.⁵ The settlement of 1866 which was itself an increase of 23% over 1860 continued till 1896, when it was once again revised,⁶ to take advantage of the improved means of communications and irrigation. The soils were entirely reclassified and the standard crops adopted for wet and dry lands were "Black" and "White Paddy". For vicissitudes of seasons and unprofitable cultivation, allowances of 10% and 20% were made. Costs of cultivation were raised to Rs. 14 and Rs. 8 from the previous rates of Rs. 5-4-0 and Rs. 4 under the old settlement. Half the net annual value of the outturn of each field as thus ascertained was taken as the Government share and rounded off to the nearest standard rate of assessment. About 14 rates for dry and 12 rates for wet lands were fixed ultimately. The wet rates ranged from Rs. 12 per acre to Rs. 2-8-0 per acre, and the dry rates between Rs. 11 and As. 4. The general result of the Settlement was a gross increase in the assessment by about Rs. 2,35,000 or 8%. On the whole, 3,20,000 acres which had been settled in 1866 and assessed at Rs. 11,38,000 were charged at Rs. 1,83,600 in the new settlement of 1900. 19,000 acres which came newly under cultivation between the 2 settlements and were previously assessed at Rs. 16,000 were now charged at Rs. 23,000 and some 42,000 acres were assessed for the first time in 1900 at Rs. 34,000.

Bhadrachalam was till 1874 an independent Zamindary under the Nizam who let out to renters who became very powerful. These people later were registered as inferior proprietors at the settlement that followed the sessions and another class of inferior proprietors were the 'Doras', to whom the owners of the Estate had been wont to rent out certain areas on short leases on a commission from 20 to 40% of the gross produce. Their position was also defined at the settlement. Some of them possessed various degrees of occupancy rights in the soil, but the rest were tenants at will. The assessment of Peshcush to be paid by the proprietors was collected by regular settlement operations. The villages were grouped for the purpose of settlement into Chunks with reference to the locality and fertility. The rental which each class of soil in each Chunk was to pay was calculated

on the value of the rent paid during the last 5 years. The 'Doras' had to pay the superior proprietors the whole of the Peshcush so fixed in each village together with road and school cess each 2% on the Peshcush, a Dakhan Cess of Rs. 8 per cent and a tribute from 10 to 40% called Malikhana.⁷ The revised settlements resulted in an increase of revenue as in Godavary, Kistna and Nellore which earned respectively Rs. 10,25,993, 13,88,122 and Rs. 4,84,893 more.

In Bellary and Anantapur the original settlements of Munroe were revised by Pelly's Settlement in 1858 according to which the assessment of Bellary was Rs. 34,20,304. The standard crops were Cholum, Ragi and Cotton. Grain values were required to be fixed in accordance with those adjoining Districts where settlements were already finished. Taking the average rates of prices in the preceding 20 years in both the Districts and making allowance for merchants' losses and profits as was done in Cuddapah, 15% for cholum and 10% for paddy seemed fair. Cholum was taken at an average of Rs. 133 and Rs. 135 while allowance for the deductions for unprofitable areas was conceded at 25%. The total number of dry rates proposed were 8, varying from Rs. 2-8-0 to annas 4, wet rates were 11, varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 2, the total of all rates merged were 17.

Hitherto, the 2nd crop assessment in Bellary and Anantapur was half of the first crop assessment, a temporary exception being made in the case of gardens used for cocoanuts and areca plantations. This exceptional treatment also was proposed to be done away with in course of time.⁸

These settlement proposals were accepted as they were only with slight modifications of the previous settlement of Pelly. The excellence of the old system was attested by the rapid expansion of cultivation during 1856-1876 when, in the 3 Taluks under discussion, Alur increased its cultivated fully assessed area by 40%, Adoni by 60% and Hospet by 100%. In 1880-81 famines, the cultivation had sunk to the level of 1856, Alur and Hospet had lost 15% each of the wide area under plough in 1876. Gradually, the situation improved again. Adoni gained within 7 years 20%, Alur 6%, Hospet remained stationary due to the poor quality of the soils and the good returns for capital which these Taluks gave. The cultivated area in Hospet was still 70% in excess of that reported in 1856; while in Adoni the excess compared with the same period was about 30% and in Alur about 18%.⁹ There was an increase of 12.30% in dry (Rs. 66,787)

and 13.23% (Rs. 22,788) in wet or Rs. 89,575 in those five Taluks. The increase was nowhere large except in dry areas, like Hospet 30.46%, Penukonda 21.63, and Gooty 17.78%. There was a large amount of waste in Hospet, Penukonda and Gooty coming to 65,359, 88,253 and 97,727 acres respectively.

"Warned by the known impoverished condition of the tract and the extent to which it had suffered from famine and scarcity, the Board had considered the question whether the increase should be allowed. The increase was due to the assessment in the worst descriptions of land from As. 2 to As. 4 (Pelly's scale) and the latter was certainly not too high a rate for land that was worth cultivating. Most of the land unoccupied was the land assessed at the lower rates. When consulted by the Commissioner, both the collectors thought no reduction in the rates was desirable, and hence the same were adopted.¹⁰

In other Taluks of Hadgalli, Hospet, Kudligi and Rayadrug, the commutation rates were calculated on the average price of cholum Rs. 150 and paddy Rs. 170. After making 15% deduction for merchants' profits, the commutation rates for paddy and cholum were Rs. 144 and Rs. 127. The rates varied from Rs. 2-4-0 to As. 2 in the dry, and from Rs. 11 to Rs. 4 under the Tungabhadra channels and from Rs. 9 to Re. 1 under other sources. These proposed rates were considered to be very light in their incidence. Only 31 acres in Hospet, 1,756 acres or 1% in Hadgalli and 13 acres in Rayadrug were assessed at Rs. 2-4-0, the highest of the proposed rates. The highest rates remained to be only Rs. 1-12-0 and this rate was imposed on 2% of the lands in Hospet and 6% in Hadgalli. About 6% of the dry lands in Hospet, 4% in Hadgalli and 21% in Rayadrug were assessed at Re. 1 per acre. In Kudligi out of the total dry occupied area of 1,29,003 only 56 acres were assessed at Rs. 1-12-0, the highest rate proposed to be applied to that taluk. Acres 4,378 representing 3% were assessed at Re. 1 per acre, so that virtually the highest rate was only Rs. 0-12-0 for Kudligi which was considered to be the worst of the 5 Taluks. Financial results of the settlement were an increase of Rs. 18,055 or 6.2% in the assessment of dry lands in Hospet, Hadgalli, Harpanahalli, Kudligi and Rayadrug of Bellary and an increase of Rs. 10,353 or 7.2% in the assessment of wet lands in occupation in the above taluks, the total increase in both dry and wet together coming to Rs. 28,408 or an increase of 6.6%.¹¹

On a review of these settlements it was found that in Adoni

and Alur Taluks the new rates resulted in an increase of 9% and 8% respectively in "Dry" with an increase of 5% in "Wet" in Adoni and a decrease of 10% in Alur. The increase in these Taluks was moderate and as the practice of reducing assessment at the introduction of the settlement in individual cases where the rates involved excessive increase and would result in reducing the total increase to an extent which might be considerable the increase was recommended to be accepted. As regards the rates in the remaining taluks, the rates on wet lands resulted in Bellary Taluk in a trifling increase of Rs. 181 made up of a decrease of Rs. 76 in the lowest irrigation group and an increase of Rs. 181 made up of a decrease of Rs. 76 in the lowest irrigation group and an increase of Rs. 257 in the 3 higher groups, in a decrease of Rs. 1,222 distributed on all the groups in the Gooty Taluk and an increase of Rs. 985 in Tadipatri made up of an increase of Rs. 1,380 or 7.32% on the good channel lands, a decrease of Rs. 439 on this 4th group lands and a small increase of Rs. 44 in the lowest group of wet land where, however, the average rate was only Rs. 3-4-7 per acre and these rates were recommended. The Board said, "The percentage increase on the dry lands of these taluks is somewhat unduly high and the Commissioner would recommend that the increase in these taluks be reduced to a sum not exceeding 6% in Bellary, 10% in Gooty and 15% in Tadipatri. The Commissioner would visit each taluk before the Settlement was finally introduced and satisfy himself as to the propriety of the proposed modifications, which would be reported to Government when their introduction was completed."¹²

In Vizagapatam, Golkonda and Sarva Siddhi Taluks were also settled during this period. These 2 were acquired by the British Government when they were proprietary estates, comprising of Golkonda, Vemulapadu, Kottakota, Sarva Siddhi, Rayavaram, Konda Kerla, Demili. All these were purchased by the Government from 1831 to 1841. The survey in 1889 had disclosed a decrease of acres 4334 or 5% in Sarva Siddhi and an increase of the acres 61,373 or 65% in the Golkonda Taluks. Of the total survey area of acres 88,332 and acres 1,56,051 in Sarva-Siddhi, and Golkonda respectively, the extent of inams was acres 16,115 or 18% in Sarva Siddhi and acres 18,429 or 12% in Golkonda.¹³

The standard grains taken for commutation were cumbu and Ragi at Rs. 114 and Rs. 126 respectively. The cultivation expenses

for "dry" areas were calculated at Rs. 4-14-1 and for "wet" areas at Rs. 9-4-1. The rates varied from Rs. 8 to Rs. 2 in wet areas and Rs. 3 to As. 6 in dry and were identically the same as those sanctioned for Palkonda.

Financially, the result was an increase of Rs. 5,055 in Golkonda Taluk against an increase of 13,579 acres or 36% in area and in Sarva Siddhi a decrease of Rs. 6,132 or 16% against a decrease of acres 5,407 or 20% in area. The old average in Golkonda was As. 14 against the settlement average of Rs. 0-11-11. The increase in revenue, notwithstanding the decrease in the average was due to the large increase in area. In Sarva Siddhi, the old average was Rs. 1-6-10 and settlement average was Rs. 1-8-11. The decrease in assessment notwithstanding the increased settlement was due to the large decrease in area. In wet lands the result in Golkonda was an increase of Rs. 2,583 or 4½% in assessment against an increase of acres 1,677 or 15% in area. According to the accounts furnished by the Tahsildars, the extent of 2nd crop cultivation was acres 1,592 which at an average rate of Rs. 2 per acre, gave Rs. 3,184. The total assessment inclusive of the 2nd crop charge was therefore Rs. 63,254 against the existing revenue assessment of Rs. 57,487 the increase being Rs. 5,767 or 10% against an increase in area of 15%.

In Sarva Siddhi, the increase in the 1st crop assessment was Rs. 3,225 or 4% against an increase of acres 1,255 or 8% in area. By the Tahsildars' report, the extent of 2nd crop cultivation was acres 1,102, which, at an average of Rs. 2 per acre, would give Rs. 2,204. The total assessment including the 2nd crop charge was Rs. 92,810 against the existing assessment of Rs. 87,381, the increase being 6% against an increase of 8% in area. The revenue net average in Golkonda and Sarva Siddhi was Rs. 5-3-5 and Rs. 5-5-1 against the settlement average of Rs. 4-11-8 and Rs. 5-1-11 respectively.¹⁴

REFERENCES

1. G. O. 3945 dated 11-10-1894 [1]; G. O. 625 dated 10-9-1895 [2]; G. O. 684 dated 14-10-1895, and B. P. dated 3-10-1895, Misc. 5202 dated 14-5-1895, Misc. 2501 [3]; G. O. 868 dated 24-7-1885 and 14-3-1888, Misc. 1142 [4]; G. O. 122 dated 29-1-1895 [7]; G. O. 731 dated 23-10-1888 [9]; G. O. 358 dated 1-5-1893 [11]; G. O. 730 dated 12-9-1890 [12]; G. O. 784 dated 23-9-1899, 23-9-1889 [13, 14]; Extract from the Settlement Report of Anantapur and Bellary. Vide G. O. 731 dated 23-10-1888 [10].
2. B. P. 430 dated 12-5-1896, p. 6 [5]; B. P. Revenue Settlements No. 43 dated 12-3-1896 [6]; B. P. 596 dated 3-10-1887 [8].

CHAPTER VII

IRRIGATION AND NAVIGATION

Irrigation

The opening of fresh irrigation works by means of Anicuts over the Godavary and the Kistna during the 60s of the 19th century considerably changed the fortunes of the peasants there and resulted in an enormous increase of revenue. The delta systems of the Godavary and the Kistna were special features of the Madras Presidency. The Godavary, the largest and the most important river which is born at Triambak near Nasik, north-west of Bombay, flows down 700 miles to Deccan, where it is 898 miles in length near the Godavary Anicut. It has a drainage basin of 1,15,570 sq. miles and a maximum flood discharge of 1.21 million cubic feet per second. The Anicut commands an alluvial tract of 2,020 sq. miles. It is a massive work of masonry. It was built across the bed of the river at a spot 33 miles from the coast where the river is 4 miles in breadth and is divided by 43 islands into 4 channels. The capacity of the 3 main canals in discharge in cubic feet per second was Eastern 2,826 feet, Central 1,745 feet and Western 3,945 feet and total 8,516 feet. The system was expected to be completed by 1889-90 at a cost of Rs. 1,30,32,653. The length of the navigable canals was 458 miles, which was proposed to be increased to 502½ miles. The extent of irrigation by 1882-83 was 5,28,129 acres which could be extended to 6,12,000 acres. Net annual income for 1882-83 was Rs. 12,11,028 and the system had paid 142.6% on the total outlay.¹

The Kistna is the second biggest river in the State. Here also the Anicut was built at the natural head of the delta where the river flows between the rocky hills and is only 1,300 yards wide. At the head of the delta, the river is 800 miles long, has a drainage area of 97,050 sq. miles and a maximum flood discharge of 7,36,000 cubic feet per second. It was also, like the Godavary, constructed on a sandy bed of the river. It was not expected to be completed till 1901-02 and the total estimate for direct charges was Rs. 1,38,99,784 sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India. The navigable channels of the system are connected with those of the Godavary on the one side and those of the Buckingham canal on the other. In 1882-83 their total

length was 278 miles which was to be increased to 349 miles. Total area effectively irrigated and revenue derived in 1882 were 2,61,158 acres and Rs. 5,85,262. On completion of the work the area was estimated to reach 4,75,000 acres.

A third important source of irrigation is the Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal which owes its origin to the policy of introducing into British India, British capital and enterprise in the construction of irrigation works. First initiated by Sir Arthur Cotton as the Tungabhadra Project, the Company got registered as the Madras Irrigational Canal Company in 1858, and in 1863 a regular deed between the Company and the Secretary of State was drawn up by which a Government guarantee of 5% was given on a capital of 1 million sterling for the execution of the works. By 1866 the Company was already in financial troubles and had spent Rs. 9,37,242 out of a capital of £9,64,521. While the works were still in an unfinished state, a second indenture was signed modifying the original contract so as to allow the Company a sum of £6,00,000 by means of debentures. By 1872, the original capital of 1 million sterling together with the loan of Secretary of State, i.e., £6,00,000 were exhausted while the Canal remained unfinished. Mortgage debentures were issued, but the credit of the Company was not good and hence it was impossible to complete the work so long as it remained under the Company. Hence the transference and purchase of the Company by the Secretary of State was finalised by July 1882.

The Kurnool Canal takes off from an Anicut 17 miles above the town of Kurnool on the river Tungabhadra. The Anicut supplying the canal was built at Sunkesula about 1,500 yards in length. The canal terminates at Cuddapah with a total length of 190 miles from Sunkesula. Though the Canal was completed in 1871, navigation was not begun till 1880. The extension of the area under irrigation was 14,700 acres by 1871-72 and the revenue yielded was Rs. 50,650.² A usually enforced water-rate of Rs. 3 per acre began yielding good results on the irrigation works on the Godavary and the Kistna though this rate was subject to several fluctuations in the subsequent settlements. Similarly, on the Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal a rate of Rs. 6 per acre on the 30,000 acres of area it began to irrigate, promised a return of Rs. 1,80,000, but some authorities began to doubt whether Rs. 4 per acre would not be more moderate and fair though the return would fall to Rs. 1,20,000.³

Besides these big irrigation projects involving huge expenditure and outlay occasional advances were given for the construction of wells and tanks as in Rajahmundry. In 1873 about 23 tanks and 22 wells were undertaken there with an initial grant of Rs. 15,000 and an additional grant of Rs. 2,500.⁴

But in most instances it was difficult to decide the revenue derived from irrigation and navigation separately as no separate accounts were often kept. In Vizagapatam, the land brought under wet cultivation in 1882-1885 was 43,767 acres, dry land 39 acres and the income Rs. 26,60,795.⁵

Similarly in Bellary, the area under irrigation and navigation in 1882 inclusive of Government and Inam lands was 2,25,291 acres.⁶

In Cuddapah, the wet and dry area irrigated and revenue derived from irrigation and navigation in 1882 came to be 9,94,026 acres and Rs. 43,12,462.⁷

Area under irrigation in the Godavary by 1880 inclusive of dry and wet crops in Eastern, Central and Western sections came to be 5,26,855 acres.⁸

In Kistna, the benefits of irrigation were ever expanding, the area under irrigation increasing constantly from year to year. While the irrigated area continually occupied from and before Anicut increased from 12,372 acres in Fasli 1265 to 24,165 acres in Fasli 1285, the wet waste brought in cultivation since the Anicut irrigation commenced increased from 1,590 acres to 43,262 acres during this very period.⁹

The assessment including water rate came to be Rs. 1,45,111 by Fasli 1285.¹⁰ The net revenue due to the Public Works in Kistna also increased very enormously within 25 years of their starting. The area irrigated and revenue which rose from 2,78,000 acres and Rs. 5,86,600 to 4,70,000 acres and Rs. 10,37,132 respectively.

The Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal also increased the area under irrigation from 1882-83 to 5,971 acres by 1885 and revenue from navigation by Rs. 16,869.

This meant an increase of 106.90% in Kurnool and a decrease of 9.16% in Cuddapah or together 24.83% more than the revenue derived during the year 1883-84.¹¹

By 1900, the area under irrigation in Godavary became the largest so far known. But in 1899-1900 the river discharge was unprecedentedly low and some difficulty was experienced in supplying the total area cultivated. The area of the 1st crop

in that year was 6,66,140 acres, the largest known upto that year. The diminution in the 1st crop area in 1895-96 was due to the temporary relinquishment of some ryots due to enhancement of rates.¹²

There was a gradual increase in the earnings of the major irrigation works and the area under cultivation by the opening of the 20th century. The Tungabhadra Project near Bellary had been attracting the attention of the Government for a very long time and several schemes were submitted for constructing irrigation projects on this river. About 8 minor Anicuts in Bellary tapped the water of the Tungabhadra, but they were commanding a very small area of land. When the Madras Irrigation Canal Company started, it also wanted to have a section as Bellary Project (i) Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal extension upto Someswaram, (ii) Nellore Section, (iii) and a supply reservoir chiefly in Mysore. The ravages of famine in Bellary were constantly calling attention to the project, in the hope that a large irrigation project on the Tungabhadra, though not a directly productive venture, would be a protective agency, saving a lot of life and property. Prospects for an upper and lower Bellary Project were brought before the Government several times for their consideration.

The upper Bellary Project which consisted in taking off a canal from the Tungabhadra at Valuapur for irrigating 1,50,000 acres and at a sufficiently high water level to supply Bellary town and camp with water. The length of this line was 16½ miles to Bellary and thence 56 miles to the river Hagori.¹³ The supply through the head sluice was to be 2,250 cubic feet a minute and the estimated cost of Rs. 1,43,80,000 with a net return of Rs. 3,74,500 or 3.26% on direct charges or 2.6% including maintenance and erection. This line taken by the canal would have reduced very heavy cuttings. Moreover, there was also the difficulty that very little water would be available in years of deficit rainfall for Bellary. The demand of the Kistna Delta made it impossible to have any further irrigation on large-scale from the Tungabhadra unless by a storage of flood water. The above consideration led to another scheme for the Upper Bellary Project, a low level line by taking a canal from the Tungabhadra at Hosur which is 9 miles in distance and 60 feet in level below Balwapur to carry 3,187 cubic feet per second and irrigate 2,12,500 acres. The estimated cost was Rs. 1,65,24,640 with a return of Rs. 5,06,700 or 4.07% on direct charges and 3.4%

including maintenance and collection. Here also, the same objections as in regard to the previous project were raised. After a considerable discussion, the high and low level schemes for a canal from the Tungabhadra in Bellary were considered very unpromising from the point of view of cost, result of outlay as well as probability of successful irrigation.

The subject was reviewed from time to time. In 1885, Mr. Morbor submitted a preliminary report when he was deputed to consider the water supply scheme in Bellary and he upheld once again the Upper Bellary Project. In 1889 Mr. Ag. Russel was deputed for further investigation and he submitted another report. But, as the Chief Engineer for irrigation considered it inadvisable to spend any money on more schemes, they were dropped.¹⁴

By 1900, about 19,200 sq. miles were occupied by the Agency Tracts of Northern Circars and 29,600 sq. miles by zamindary and proprietary estates regarding which no accurate information was available. About 80% of the area cultivated was for foodgrains. The other crops which deserve mention were Ragi and Cumbu. Cotton occupied about 1-1/3 million acres, oil seeds 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ area of the total occupied cropped area.¹⁵ The Circars and especially the Godavary and the Kistna districts became mostly secure against the famine threats on account of the large protective irrigation works. The Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal was another major work of this nature in Ceded Districts, which suffer from notorious inadequacy of rains.

The Pennar Sangam in Nellore, Palar and Rishikulya Projects in Ganjam came under the 2nd category of irrigation works on each of which capital outlay exceeded Rs. 20 lakhs. The Pennar Sangam yielded an average return of 7.2% on a capital of Rs. 60 lakhs, but here too conditions were very favourable as there was a good deal of irrigation from the Pennar River, in addition to that effected by the Reservoir. The Rishikulya Project yielded only 0.6% on an outlay of Rs. 48 lakhs. The cost of this work was enhanced by faulty design and construction as a protective work. The water was stored after the rains, so that it can be used for a 2nd crop. The average results of these 3 works in the sub-group were 3% on the capital cost of irrigation per acre which was Rs. 74.

The 3rd sub-group consisted of productive works varying in cost from Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 40,000, yielding an average return of 5.6% on the capital outlay which amounted to Rs. 46 per acre.

There were in all 17 works on which the capital outlay amounted to Rs. 17 lakhs on which the net revenue yield was 3.6%. The average area annually irrigated was calculated to be 3,72,000 acres or 56% of the area irrigated by works and the capital cost of the irrigation may be taken at Rs. 72 per acre. The irrigation commission felt, "that capital cost per acre for irrigation would have been much higher than the expenses incurred on existing works, the first and the most eligible sites have been taken up and much of the outlay of the past has been incurred, on the restoration or improvement of old works. The average cost of the new works was considered to be less than Rs. 100 per acre and the net revenue would not be more than Rs. 2.5 per acre assuming that the present average rate of revenue and working expenses are maintained."¹⁶

The Commission recommended the reconsideration of the Tungabhadra Project which was dropped after several attempts as it was felt the cultivators could be persuaded to use irrigation water for wet crops, if they only wanted to grow dry crops. The Irrigation Commission also recommended a scheme by which water could be supplied to Bellary for dry crops in seasons of drought and utilise the same for other places in other seasons. "If a canal could be taken through Bellary District across the water shed into the Districts of Anantapur, Cuddapah and Nellore, supplementing the discharge of the Pennar, there are many tracts in which the water would be largely utilized. Irrigation also will work as a great deterrent against famine in future years.¹⁷ It also recommended storage reservoirs on the Tungabhadra and Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal to enhance its utility. A navigable connection between Cuddapah and Kurnool too was considered to be a great asset. The unused balance of water from Kurnool Canal could be sent to Nellore and used there. The construction of the Tungabhadra Project and the improvement and extension of Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal which was deteriorating due to administrative inefficiency were expected to improve irrigation facilities in Bellary, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Nellore, which were frequently exposed to drought. Suitable recommendations for the construction of irrigation projects after proper survey were suggested and the irrigation schemes, if necessary, were to be executed in co-operation with the Government of Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore.

Similarly large storage works on the Godavary and the

Kistna which were long under consideration were sought to be expedited. Absence of adequate irrigation facilities and inadequate rain reduced the prospect of a 2nd crop in Kistna. The average area of 2nd crop was only 323 acres out of a total area of 5,20,000 although on the Godavary over 14% of the total area had 2nd crop. Even the execution of the Tungabhadra Project or the improvements of the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal could not be successful without a major storage reservoir on the Kistna. Mr. Reid, the Chief Engineer, proposed a storage work about 130 miles above Bezawada with a dam of 150 feet high and capable of storing between 30,000 and 40,000 million cubic feet. It would be possible to take a high level canal from the right of the Kistna above the dam which could be maintained as a monsoon canal until the level in the reservoir fell below a certain point. This canal would be carried through the uplands of the Kistna District and then to the northern parts of Nellore and could be utilised for irrigation in those tracts and for filling storage works. When the canal ceased to flow, the water in the reservoir would be utilised at the Kistna at the level of requirements in the delta where the first and 2nd crop irrigation would be developed to the utmost. He also suggested a pumping project on the Divi Island for irrigation of 50,000 acres at the mouth of the Kistna by carrying water from Kistna through an expensive aqueduct to this island. The pumping should commence when the river is in high floods till it falls to a bottom, when the water becomes brackish. The Project would not cost more than Rs. 12 lakhs and would be directly remunerative. If pumping of water through such schemes is adopted large areas can be brought under cultivation at less cost than construction of storage works. In Egypt thousands of acres are cultivated by steam pumping while in India steam lift irrigation is almost unknown. Hence the Irrigation Commission felt that Government should give a courageous lead in this matter by executing such works as the Divi Project.¹⁵

The water supply from the Godavary is generally sufficient for the requirements of the delta and there is not much scope for extension of 1st or 2nd crop. Many storage works could be proposed on the Upper Godavary or its affluents for the protection of tracts in its neighbourhood. Storage works on the Godavary at Siggleru, Yeleru and Yerrakalava could be constructed, but the first two might involve heavy cost compared to their irrigation capacity.

In Ceded Districts, dry crops were grown in abundance, such as groundnut, cotton and oil seeds as they grow better in the black soil there. Erection of Pumping Stations near tanks, wells or streams were considered advantageous. The Irrigation Commission felt that "if five or six pumping engines were erected on the banks of such rivers as the Hagari, the Pennar, the Chitravali and the Hidrai in the black cotton soils of Bellary, Anantapur and Kurnool districts, the cultivator may be more willing than now to take water for irrigation of dry crops in such soils. Though these pumping projects may not be profitable they would not run under much loss and would teach the ryot the benefits of irrigation."¹⁹

The Famine Commission in 1880 recommended a proper maintenance of the 1,000 small channels and 3,000 tanks which irrigated about 3 million acres. It suggested a classification of these tanks according to their irrigation capacities and to put them under the control of the State, P.W.D. or Village authorities for care and maintenance. Tanks irrigating 200 acres should remain in the hands of the P.W.D. Smaller tanks irrigating not less than 50 acres should be made over to villagers after repairs and tanks irrigating less should be entrusted to the care of the village.²⁰ The Famine Commission also recommended appointment of Tank Inspectors on a pay of Rs. 150 per mensem under Collectors, to look after the repairs and maintenance of the tanks, and the work to be carried out by 'Kudimaramat' or 'free voluntary labour' of the villages. But, this recommendation was not enforced. The Government was also not able to enforce zamindars to maintain properly the irrigation works in their jurisdiction. They were left in deplorable conditions and the ryots had never the wherewithal to improve them. The Famine Commission also recommended that the zamindars should be made to pay for the advantages derived from irrigation, but, should not be allowed to enjoy the benefits gratuitously.²¹

In Ceded Districts well irrigation was the only alternative, but digging was very difficult and expensive in Bellary, Kurnool and in the northern portion of Cuddapah and Anantapur. In the former two districts the number of wells did not exceed 3,000 in each though in Kurnool the number was more than double in the decade 1890-1900. The wells were mostly in Cumbum and Markapur areas where water was available at a moderate depth. The Government recommended exemption on well irrigation after 1852, so that the ryot might enjoy the bene-

sits for himself. To guard against fraud, wells within a distance of 100 yards in the rear of tank beds, rivers, channels and beds of tanks were exempted, as the water from these sources would percolate by absorption.²² The Famine Commission of 1880 suggested that all such concessions should be confirmed by Legislative Enactments so that the ryots would know their rights clearly, but this was not done.

Doruvu wells sunk on the banks or rivers and streams did not enjoy any exemptions as they derived their supply from channels, rivers or streams. The lands irrigated from them were charged wet assessment less, Re. 1 per lift per acre, for the 1st crop and Rs. 0-8-0 per lift per acre for the 2nd crop upto 1878, except in Cuddapah and Nellore, but in that year this additional charge amounting to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the first crop was ordered to be abolished. The whole number of these wells for the presidency was 5,700 while 1,600 of them were in the four famine districts irrigating in all 7,600 acres by 1893. 500 of them were in Kurnool on the banks of the Gondlakamma River where the charge of the assessment was long given up. Besides these, there were 10,000 supplementing wells in Cuddapah.

If the expenditure incurred in the great famines was mostly diverted to protective and productive irrigation works, a lot of life could have been saved, but mostly the expenditure had always been more on roads than on irrigation projects. The principal irrigation works undertaken were the extension of the 3 distributary channels in connection with the Rishikulya Project in Ganjam, the restoration of the 3 ruined tanks in Bellary, the connection of the Chopad and Pedapasupula Project in connection with Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal and two new tanks in the Cuddapah District. The sums expended on these new works amounted to Rs. 43,600, Rs. 69,000 and Rs. 1,48,800 respectively in these three districts. In addition, Rs. 2 lakhs were spent on repairing 25 tanks, springs and river channels and about $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh in providing several village ponds and wells used for dry purposes in 1901-03.²³

Navigation

The Public Works on the Godavary and the Kistna, the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal and the Tungabhadra had also immense potentialities as navigation sources and cheap means of communication besides being sources of rich irrigation.

The Godavary passes through a naturally rich country full of valuable products getting worthless by the high cost of

carriage. Even if there was no demand for any other commodity, salt, for which there was a cry throughout the coast was sold at cent per cent high prices at Bhadrachalam a place half way between Rajahmundry and Chinoor.²⁴ The want of salt through-cut and the anxiety for it in all the parts would itself prove navigation on the river as a profitable source by way of opening a salt trade, if not anything else.²⁵

Proposals were made for a steam boat navigation on the Godavary as early as 1854 as that would be a very cheap means of transport. With the use of steam power, the river would be worked more cheaply than without it as wood for fuel was available up the river at Rs. 0-8-0 a ton. Looking to the results of the steam navigation on the rivers in America, one could say with confidence that navigation on the Godavary would be much cheaper with the vast timber for fuel and the low cost of labour. The use of steam would make the traffic more independent of the zamindars and would greatly augment the prosperity of the regions.²⁶

The Canals of the Godavary were great arteries of commerce. The goods worth Rs. 33,13,931 passed through the canals in 1858 and Rs. 38,72,967 in 1859 and Rs. 14,75,366 in the first half of 1860.²⁷ In 1871 Col. Keatinge made some proposals for constructing water reservoirs on the Upper Godavary with a view to encouraging sugar cultivation and navigation with Central Provinces and improve cheap traffic in goods over long distances.²⁸

The Secretary of State referred the scheme to the Board of Revenue in Madras.²⁹ The Board of Revenue invited the opinion of the Collectors.³⁰ After hearing the view of the Board of Revenue, the Secretary of State refused to sanction these schemes as the (i) proposed storage would not be beneficial in proportion to its cost, (ii) the 'dalwa' crop which it would facilitate is a crop to be discouraged, (iii) sugarcane cultivation could be extended with the present supply of water, (iv) the traffic with Central Provinces does not exist now and would increase slowly, and (v) the existing water supply was more than enough for the demands of the existing cultivation.³¹

Tolls were levied at several points of the existing canals on the Godavary Delta. The Godavary Delta System is divided into (i) Central, (ii) Eastern, and (iii) Western sections. The Eastern Delta can be entered on the lower border at the Tidal lock, Samalkota Canal and Kovur Canal and a 4th at the Tidal Branch of Yanam. In the Western delta, the points of entrance

for boats are (i) the Head lock, (ii) the Ellore lock, (iii) the Weiyur lock from the Colair lake, (iv) Yelurpard lock from Upputeru, (v) Yennamadduru drain, and when communications are completed on the Undi Canal on the one hand and Gostanadi on the other and (vi) Naraspur Canal at Mogelturu lock.

In the eastern deltas a boat can ply between Bandar, Bezwada and Ellore for an indefinite time on payment of a single toll. A boat from Dhowleswaram paying a single toll was free to reach Cocanada without paying anything more.

The toll stations on the Godavary were at (i) Dhowleswaram, (ii) Tail lock, (iii) Samalcota Canal, (iv) Madapad Cocanada Canal, (v) Kovur, (vi) Tapeswaram—Mandapeta, (viii) Chopella, (viii) Yanam, (ix) Alamur, (x) Munnyeri, (xi) Yera Pothavaram, (xii) Vijeswaram, (xiii) Ellore Canal—Chettipeta, (xiv) Ellore Lock, (xv) Veyur Lock, (xvi) Double Lock, (xvii) Yelurpad Lock, (xviii) Head Lock, Undi Canal, (xix) Attili, (xx) Velpur, (xxi) Naraspur, (xxii) Mogelturu and (xxiii) Doddiapatla.³²

The average licence fee for cargo boats was Rs. 20 which was proposed to be raised to Rs. 40 from 1st January 1878.³³ Licence for passenger boat was Rs. 10 and the journey in one direction was Rs. 6.

A boat from East Coast and to Cocanada and back—the line on which most tolls had to be paid—would cost Rs. 6 on each of the places, Commur Canal Tidal Lock, Bezwada, Ellore and Dhowleswaram, each way, meaning Rs. 48 for a trip.

The distance on Commur Canal, including 13 miles of Kistna Main Canal, 40 miles of Ellore Canal, 46 miles of Kistna East Division and 32½ miles of Cocanada Canal Division came to 188 miles.

For a distance of 376 miles, the toll amounts to 2 annas a mile, a moderate charge for a passenger boat carrying 60 passengers which could come to 2/5 pies for a passenger per mile or for a 60-ton cargo about 2/5 pies per ton.

In 1877, there were in all 1,564 boats on the Godavary both for passenger traffic and cargo with tonnage varying from 5 to 90.

A move was there to abolish the distinction between the cargo and passenger boats. But this was deprecated by the Government who felt that it would leave the passengers entirely at the mercy of the boat owners and suggested that licences for passenger boats must be based on the space and convenience

for the passengers rather than their tonnage. Mr. Wallace, a great authority on the navigation of the Godavary, said, "Government need not look for a profit on navigation and may be content to give ample time for traffic to develop before expecting that receipts will balance expenditure, but, beyond that it is thought not advisable to go."³⁴ The Chief Engineer for Irrigation, Kistna also felt the same, that "it would be well to fix a toll to be levied at the first lock through which the boat passes on payment of which a cargo boat could make use of the Canals within the distance for a short time even though the Lock Superintendents at the subsequent stations might sometimes act dishonestly."³⁵ Revenue from navigation by boats on the Kistna came to be Rs. 610 for 1878.³⁶ The navigation receipts on the Godavary³⁷ for the years 1879 and 1880 amounted to Rs. 68,710 and Rs. 76,410, and the Kistna for 1881 and 1882, the amounts received were Rs. 21,788 and Rs. 32,263.³⁸ On the Godavary Delta, Samalkota Canal, Cocanada Canal and other channels were cleared for navigation.³⁹ The Navigation receipts on the Godavary for 1887-88 and 1888-89 were Rs. 1,01,390 and Rs. 90,884. The details regarding the navigation and commerce would be discussed in another chapter.⁴⁰ The Navigation on the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal did not increase to any considerable extent.⁵¹ The Traffic on the Godavary and the Kistna Canals continued paying the usual tolls levied at every stage.

Mr. H. E. Clerk submitted another report for the irrigation and navigation of the Tungabhadra in 1897, after some investigations and the next year, Col. Badley sent another, with a note to Mr. Clerk suggesting utilizing the waters of the Tungabhadra that would be wasted for the sake of some famine districts, but the Government turned down these proposals as in no way better than the previous ones. None of the three attractive schemes suggested by Col. Badley received any attention.⁴² The first scheme was to improve the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal to irrigate 2,500 acres, the construction of an anicut at Sonkesula and the formation of a storage tank in Nellore at a total cost of Rs. 46 lakhs.

On this investment the returns expected were an increase of cultivation in Cuddapah to the extent of Rs. 1 lakh and increase in Nellore on 40,000 acres at Rs. 5 per acre which came to another Rs. 2 lakhs, in all Rs. 3 lakhs.

The 2nd scheme suggested improvements on the Kurnool Canal by constructing a reservoir at Sonkesula as a substitute

for improvements to tanks at a cost of Rs. 86 lakhs, on which the return would be an increase in cultivation of 2,000 acres in Cuddapah and 10,000 acres in Nellore which meant an increase of Rs. 1 lakh and Rs. 5 lakhs respectively, which was a little higher yield on the outlay than on the earlier scheme.

The 3rd was the same as the 2nd with the substitution of a dam and cutting for improvement of the new canal. The cost of such a work was approximately estimated as Rs. 200 lakhs, which would irrigate 20,000 acres in Cuddapah and 150,000 in Nellore. This was to give a return of $8\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs or a little over 4%⁴³ on the capital outlay. But all these schemes were ignored by the Government.

Lt. T. F. Haig had submitted a report on the navigation of the Godavary as there were large forests all along its banks and coal mines too in certain places. As such, there would be no want of fuel or steam power for the river traffic that may be opened on the stream. Berar and Central Provinces which would also be connected contain about 10 million population in their villages to whom would be provided the facilities of cheap transport which would increase their population, prosperity and industry. Coringa would necessarily become a great commercial place independently of its exporting the products of the delta and the delta must be powerfully affected by the rise of such a city.⁴⁴ All over the delta, there will be abundance of water power which may be used in the preparation of materials brought from the interior previous to shipment. As there were coal, iron and timber in abundance, all the necessary facilities for a great Boat Building industry and navigation were thought to be readily available. "The direct interest which Government had in every turn of salt sold was about Rs. 30. The cost of conveyance of that to Berar by bullocks was enormous. Even calculating the demand for salt at 5 lbs. per head it amounts to 22,500 tons for the entire population. The cost then amounted to Rs. 70 per ton that if by cheaper transport the price is reduced to Rs. 35 per ton, the consumption would greatly increase. Supposing it would only double, the revenue from this alone would come to Rs. $6\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs per annum. Thus, viewed from any point, commerce, revenue, civilization, education or good Government and national reputation, we have encouragement to proceed."⁴⁵ "We may open 900 miles of the Godavary and its tributaries for navigation during 7 to 9 months of the year. Even if the river is worked only half the year, it could accommodate more traffic

than 20 railways worked all the year round for while the capacity of the latter for traffic is and always must be limited, that of the former is practically without limit at least. We have no reason to expect that the traffic would ever increase to such an extent as to render necessary any further additions to the work now recommended that perhaps a 2nd set of locks which would add very little to the cost of the line. Both in regard to the expense and productivity, the Godavary navigation is cheaper and more useful than the canals in Ireland or North Spain or North America."⁴⁶ In spite of all the beneficent effects of the scheme, the Government of the day, paid no heed and allowed the scheme to slumber.

"Anicut on the Pennar was another of the important irrigation works executed at this time. The Pennar River rises in the Mysore territory at Nandidrug and after running about 31 miles, enters Bellary and after another 100 miles crosses Nellore and falls into the Bay of Bengal, about 18 miles north-east of Nellore. The first proposal for an anicut was made in 1848 which was revised by 1849, the estimate amounting to Rs. 64,899 the probable increase of revenue being Rs. 20,000. This estimate was altered by the Chief Engineer to a total of Rs. 85,547. The anicut was commenced only in 1853. The original section consisted of a body wall a foot high and 5 feet broad at the crest with a sloping apron 30 feet broad supported by a retaining wall which in turn was by a horizontal apron 60 feet broad. The foundations of the body wall consisted of 3 feet solid masonry resting on a double row of 3 feet inside diameter and 6 feet in depth. The anicut was completed on 15th August 1855, the sanction for it having been increased to Rs. 95,000 and the outlay upon it being stated as Rs. 93,000.⁴⁷

These were the irrigation and navigation projects executed and there was no further possibility of extension for a long time. After the twenties, the Irrigation Advisory Boards were appointed in the Godavary, the Kistna and the Cauvery Deltas. Each Board consisted of 5 members nominated by the Government from among the leading and influential land holders of the non-official class. The functions of the Board were purely advisory.⁴⁸ Certain irrigation channels in the Godavary Delta continued under the Panchayat management. The work of the Panchayats was generally satisfactory. This scheme was extended to Bellary and Dasana Channels in the Bellary District.⁴⁹ By 1926-27, the proposals of the Ceded Districts Irrigation Committee were

examined, the Ganjam minor river systems, the Godavary Delta Systems, the Eastern and Central Deltas, Polavaram Island Project, Divi Pumping System, Pennar River Canal System, Basavanna Channel, Cumbum Tank and Tadepalli Channel.

There were no other improvements effected in irrigation or navigation inspite of all the schemes advanced. The Famine Code Revision Committee in 1938 once again brought to the fore the several irrigation schemes on the Tungabhadra, suggested by the Chief Engineer Mr. K. Ramanatha Iyer and pleaded for the speedy implementation of either of them to avoid recurrent famines and to increase food production in Ceded Districts, but the Government had not taken any vital decision on these important projects.

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CHAPTER VIII

COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Commerce and communications go hand in hand. For a long time, the communications of the Andhra Districts consisted mainly of canals and rivers.

There was a rich trade in salt, timber, handloom products, long cloth, handicrafts, etc. When timber was purchased and sold from place to place, there was a permit system which showed the market where it was brought and the place to where it was sent, and this permit was liable to check in the transit of the goods from the Godavary to Vizag or Cuddapah or Kurnool or any other district.¹ Duties on all goods passing by land into or out of the foreign European settlements on the line of the coast in Madras were repealed by the Act XVI of 1847. But customs were levied on all goods imported by land or exported to all foreign settlements by establishing chowkis at all convenient centres. No goods were allowed to pass unless the certificate was produced showing that all customs duties levied were paid in full.² Any chowki officer who shall permit goods to pass across the frontier when not covered by sufficient certificate or who shall permit goods to pass by any prohibited route shall be liable on conviction before the Collector of Customs to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 6 months and to a fine not exceeding Rs. 500 commutable if not paid for another 6 months' imprisonment. The Customs Officers were also deterred from causing vexatious delays to the goods in transit on the plea of examination. On conviction of wrongful detention of goods he was liable for imprisonment for 6 months and a fine not exceeding Rs. 500.³

The sayer duties imposed on land trade had acted as a great drag on all internal traffic. They prevented the free intercourse of commodities produced in different parts of the country. The timber trade alone must have been annihilated by the numerous and heavy duties imposed on it from Rekapalli to the coast. Numerous chowkis were established on all the roads where, besides the zamindars' dues, many 'Russoms' (duties) were exacted which were the cause of much vexation and inconvenience to the trader.⁴

The enormous duties exacted on the teak timber brought by the Godavary to the sea ports of the Circars were attracting

much attention. From Polavaram to Yanam they amounted to 200% paid at 7 chowkis ; that carried by the Naraspur Branch paid 250% at different places. These vexatious duties raised the price of the Godavary teak so much that many began getting teak from Pegu and Burma rather than from Rekapalli which was not more than 160 miles from Rajahmundry.⁵

The markets and ports were divided into 3 categories : (i) affecting the whole of the Presidency of Madras, Pondicherry, Bangalore, Cocanada and Bhimlipatam, (ii) those of the superior characters affecting greater part of the whole taluk such as Cuddalore, Vellore, Ellore, etc., (iii) the small markets in the Western Delta. Naraspur and Ellore were important markets. 'Santas' or weekly congregations of all merchandize, mostly fruits, vegetables, clothes, salt fish, twist for weavers, etc., were available here. There was no business in grain as no surplus was left for export. The bargains were settled in the villages when the Sahukars send their bullocks or boats to get the produce. Paddy was sometimes exported to the neighbouring districts of Vizag or Masulipatam. In 1858-59, the paddy exports in value amounted to Rs. 2,69,751. The ports of Coringa and Cocanada were always busy with vessels loading and unloading goods from several countries like Mauritius, West Indies and Europe. The value of exports was increasing enormously towards the seventies. By 1859-60, the exports amounted to Rs. 32,33,032 from which a sum of Rs. 67,739 had to be deducted as the value of piecegoods. The value of the agricultural produce exported was Rs. 31,65,293 exclusive of gingely oil seeds valued at Rs. 2,37,853 exported by land to all the settlements of Yanam for shipment. For Godavary alone, the value of the exports amounted to Rs. 37,92,859 and Rs. 28,47,909 for the two years of 1859 and 1860, out of which the value of piecegoods to be deducted was Rs. 36,85,325 and Rs. 25,75,638. The goods passing through the navigable channels were valued at Rs. 33,13,931 in 1858 and Rs. 38,22,967 in 1859 and Rs. 14,75,366 for the first half of 1860.⁶

As the opening and maintenance of public roads was for long neglected, in the whole delta, there were literally no roads. Scarcely, a cart was to be seen. During the monsoon, the banks of the canals were the only paths for the pedestrians whose route happened to be along the line, but, if they travelled along the line, the channels and banks were an obstruction. With the exception of those main canals the banks were too narrow

to allow a cart being driven along them, and, except for short distances on the lines of the main canals, water superseded land carriage. The absence of land communications, the wet state of the country, and the obstructions caused by the main canals made the transport of grains extremely difficult for the ryot and the Sahukar.⁷ Whatever be the difficulties of transport, the Nizam Government was charging 5% *ad valorem* duty on all imports and exports coming and going out of Hyderabad according to an age-old treaty of 1802, and despite the protest of the Madras Government, this was not waived.⁸

At Vizagapatam, the Municipality ran a ferry on which rates were collected on all traffic by a fixed schedule.⁹ The tender was for Rs. 150 a year, the Municipality accepting to pay the lascars Rs. 18 per month, but the expense of keeping the boat in order was decided to be that of Government as the Government mails were carried by it gratuitously.¹⁰ The schedule of rates was as follows :—

		Rs.	a.	p.
1. A woman or a man or child with or without load		0	0	1
2. Palanquin or Dolly with bearers	.. ..	0	1	4
3. Bullocks, etc., except camels, elephants, with or without load	.. .. ..	0	0	4
4. Saddle horses	.. .. ..	0	4	0
5. Camels with or without load	.. .. ..	0	8	0
6. Elephants	.. .. ..	1	0	0
7. Goats, sheep, pigs per pair	.. .. ..	0	1	0
8. An empty bandy or cart	.. .. ..	0	2	0
9. Bandy with travellers	.. .. ..	0	1	4

The Godavary Navigation Company at Rajahmundry not being in a position to carry into effect the proposal made by them long ago for the establishment of a steam ferry at Rajahmundry, the Government was asked to start the service though it meant a loss of Rs. 16 per diem, but the Government did not take it seriously.¹¹ Col. Haig's suggestion for the partial navigation of the Godavary at an estimated cost of £3,000 was not carried into effect though the scheme was approved by the Government as it was strongly supported by Col. Cotton.

The main commodity of export from the Circars was salt. Vizag was purchasing annually salt worth Rs. 2,21,963 by 1860. The private merchants were carrying it by road and rail. The Government at this stage wanted to have the monopoly of this

trade by their virtually taking it over rather than leaving it to private enterprise in the hope of giving it at cheaper rates to the public, but the attempt was deprecated by the Collectors as unnecessary.¹² Private enterprise which had taken advantage of the rail and road communications was sought to be encouraged. Rum was authorised to be exported free of duty.¹³ The salt channels were left in a very inferior state and they had to be cleared for manufacturing salt as the clearing charges too could not be borne by the poor salt makers, who, in the absence of advances from the Government, had to borrow at 100% interest very often.¹⁴ The Government of Madras had very ineffectually attempted for exemption of the payment of 5% duty on salt exports to Hyderabad by referring to the old treaty but this could not be had.¹⁵ Duties on the Kistna continued to be collected by the Nizam's Government excepting goods in transit which do not break bulk.¹⁶

Inquiries were made at Nellore by the Government to find out whether the trade of the district would increase to any extent if it was placed on a port to port basis with the Indian States as in the case of the British territories. Nellore replied that its trade with Indian States was negligible till 1860 when it only imported cocoanut coir rope worth Rs. 11-4-0. However, it felt that placing the Indian States on the same footing as British territories would amply compensate the little revenue that would be sacrificed by giving impulse to the coastal trade and commerce generally.¹⁷ Even the old gunny bags that were returned to merchants in places like Vizag from ship merchants who brought them back from Marsailles for refilling were taxed without exemption. Such practices evoked protests from the foreign merchants who approached the Board of Revenue in vain to order exemption.¹⁸ Some very vigorous attempts were also made to get the excise duty on salt abolished on the plea that nowhere the word 'excise' occurs in the Indian Salt Act of 1872.¹⁹ The Government of India refused to amend the Tariff Act stating that "in their opinion the duty imposed by notification of 10-3-1882 on salt locally manufactured was unquestionably an excise duty and that until some objections were raised by the traders and the manufacturers in the matter, the notification authorising the levy of the excise duty must be accepted".²⁰ There was considerable trade between Ganjam, Cochin and Travancore,²¹ between Hyderabad, Bellary and other Andhra Districts²² and the other important trade ports between

Bellary and Hyderabad like Singanapalli and Banegola where the total traffic passing between the two territories was being registered. In 1881, the exports valued at Singanapalli came to Rs. 24,960 and those at Banegola to Rs. 10,619, while the imports on both these places came to be of the value of Rs. 6,945 and Rs. 1,544 respectively. Traffic on the main canals of Bezwada was sought to be regulated. Passenger boats arriving between 8 a.m. and 2 p.m. were to be allowed to reach the wharf, the roads were not to be piled with goods not to be booked for carts, etc.²³

There was a good deal of inter-State commerce between the British territories of the Andhra Districts, Hyderabad and Mysore. The trade was registered at 32 stations on the Hyderabad frontier and 48 stations on the frontier of Mysore. For some inexplicable reasons there was a great fall in revenue from the tolls in the Hyderabad frontier especially from the Madhavaram Chowky though there was no fall in trade. Hence this was sought to be transferred to the banks of Paleru. The Collector of Kistna observed in 1882, "owing to the present position of the chowky a great portion of the goods passing to and fro the British territory and the Nizam's dominions was not entered at all in our returns. There was a large intercourse of traffic between Kammammetta and Jaggiahpetta which then escaped notice."²⁴ The Commissioner of Salt Revenue also observed that the exports to the Nizam's dominions must have exceeded the amount registered a great deal. Broad cloth and belts from Vizag, gold lace and embroidered cloth from Gantjam were the main exports.²⁵ Salt was mainly going from Uppada and Bhimlipatam salt factories.^{25a}

The roads were in a deplorably bad state everywhere. A road was laid from Vizag to Anakapalli in 1869 which was so far neglected. In the words of the Executive Engineer, "The chief obstacle to traffic which completely closes it for several months in the year for both carts and laden cattle and make it frequently dangerous to poor passengers in the first 5½ miles, to Anakapalli and the last nine into Pudimadaka. Both have to be crossed through drainage channels and are impassable."²⁶ Some roads were also laid in the East Godavary from Amalapuram to Gannavaram at an estimate of Rs. 3,270.²⁷ Another road from Rajanagaram to Peddapuram was made at a cost of Rs. 25,000 in 1870²⁸. In the Ceded Districts a road was repaired from Gootoy in Bellary to Kurnool at a cost of Rs. 7,600.²⁹ The

road from Anantapur to Tadipatri was constructed at a cost of Rs. 30,662.³⁰ Another road from Ellore to Chintalapudi in Godavary and Kistna Districts was made at a cost of Rs. 1,20,000.³¹

Local markets were held in some important commercial centres for the purchase and sale of goods. Dharmavaram, Madakasira, Uravakonda and Yadiki were prominent trade centres where tolls were being collected from the vendors annually to the tune of Rs. 2,600. The administrative expenses used to come to Rs. 816 and the rest were to be spent for the erection of latrines and sheds.³² The market fees used to be collected in the following villages at the rates mentioned against them :—

List of villages into which the market fees were introduced³³ in 1883

Taluka	Village	Laden carts	Laden bullocks or buffaloes	Laden asses	Head loads	Stalls	Per week	Per annum
Dharmavaram	-do -	10	50	100	150	30	5	260
Madakasira	..	13	48	32	623	40	8	416
Uravakonda	..	91	153	442	838	186	29	1,508
Yadiki	..	68	99	96	291	—	8	416

Such market fees were in collection at other trade centres in Ceded Districts like Kalyandrug and Amarapuram where the average attendance of traffic was as below :—³⁴

Average Attendance

Taluka	Village	Laden carts	Laden bullocks or buffaloes	Laden asses	Head loads	Stalls
Madakisira	Amarapuram	68	245	253	492	159
Dharmapuram	Kalyandrug	25	70	65	90	40

The trade returns for Cuddapah for this period were very insignificant.³⁵ But the maritime districts of the Circars were having trade relations with distant Suez Canal under the foreign ports. Attempts made as at Kistnapatam to purchase wholesale the entire lot of 1,12,800 maunds of salt at 2 annas per maund by the private capitalists who wanted to sell the same

at retail were vested by the Government as they felt the private merchants would step into the shoes of the Government as monopolists of salt trade and would begin selling at fancy prices.³⁶

The retail traffic was carrying salt from other districts to the neighbouring native States, to the banks of canals, rivers and ports, to main commercial centres and prominent towns. There were a number of registered stations for travel in Mysore, there were 5 at Cuddapah and 15 at Bellary, for trade with Nizam's territories, 16 in Bellary, 5 in Kurnool, 5 in Godavary, 4 in Kistna and for trade with Yanam, 8 in Godavary.³⁷

Besides the railway, the canals were carrying a lot of commerce on their bosom. The intermediate traffic between Dhawleswaram and Samalcotah was considered to be not important enough to construct toll stations. The existing 14 stations were considered adequate.³⁸ For the Eastern Delta, toll stations were proposed at (i) Bobberlanka, (ii) Madupullanka, (iii) Palivelu, (iv) Nadupudi and (v) Lolla. In the Western Delta, the toll stations were at (i) Vijeswaram, (ii) Ellore Canal, (iii) Nandamur, Pattipaud and Chettipaud where traffic was heavy and very heavy in the nights.³⁹ In addition to this, there were 12 toll stations on the Western Delta as below : (i) Ellore Lock, (ii) Muddapuram, (iii) Chinakapavaram, (iv) Yejurpaud, (v) Chilakampaud, (vi) Godicherla, (vii) Gostanadi, (viii) Peravali, (ix) Naraspur, (x) Mogeltore, (xi) Sidhantam and (xii) Laxmipalam. Toll tickets were given to the lascars and the clerks. A system of licence was also introduced according to which licences at Re. 1 a toll would be taken or toll tickets at 8 annas per trip. Very few boats used to take advantage of the toll tickets as the old 8 anna tickets were for a journey through and back the Delta. Again it was very difficult to sell Rs. 6 tickets as these rates came to 24 times the former ones.⁴⁰

On the road, trade in foodgrains was going from Ceded Districts as far as Poona and Sholapur though it is not possible to guess the exact extent.⁴¹

But the traffic on canals was enormous. In the Godavary Delta, Samalkota Canal, Cocanada Canal and other channels were cleared for navigation.⁴² Licences were issued to Government boats, steam boats, dredges, staff boats, passenger boats, cargo boats, etc., which were yielding an annual income of Rs. 1,01,390 in 1887-88 and Rs. 90,884 in 1888-89.⁴³ The Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal was navigable only for six months in the year.⁴⁴ During the year 1886, about 11,440 empty boats, 12,249 passenger boats and

1,66,723 passengers and goods worth Rs. 77,67,688 passed over the Godavary. During the same year, 3,061 empty boats, 5,219 passenger boats, 1,83,363 passengers and goods worth Rs. 64,33,782 passed over the Kistna.⁴⁵ The traffic on the Buckingham Canal consisted of 4,469 empty boats, 999 passenger boats, 18,390 passengers and goods worth Rs. 5,11,547. On Kurnool Canal 19,321 empty boats, 18,973 passenger boats, 3,68,540 passengers and goods worth Rs. 1,98,33,394 passed during the same period. The traffic on these canals consisted of foodgrains, salt, cotton, cloth, oil seeds, ghee, firewood, timber, bamboos and miscellaneous goods.⁴⁶

The cheap river and canal transport proved a formidable rival to the East India Railway by 1895 when the Cocanada Chamber of Commerce launched a vigorous protest against the boat traffic and started pleading for the imposition of a toll of Re. 1 per ton on all loaded traffic crossing the Ellore Lock, because "unless and until restrictions are placed over the boat traffic between Bezawada and Cocanada at the favourable rates now prevailing the extensive trade in cotton and castor seed will again be diverted to Bombay through the North Eastern Railway and Southern Maratha Railway as was the case in 1891-92-93, prior to the opening of the East India Railway causing thereby considerable loss to the interest of the local trade."⁴⁷ But the Government declined this request.

Cotton, raw and manufactured, woollen goods, dyes and tans, paddy and rice, foodgrains, skins, liquor, metals, oils, oil-seeds, provisions, salts, spices, sugar, tobacco, timber, building materials, jute, coal, coffee, treasure, firewood, bamboos, sleepers, poles, etc., formed the bulk of the trade carried on the Godavary, Kistna, Buckingham and Kurnool Canals.⁴⁸

A lot of traffic in these very goods flowed over the Chilaka Lake, Dummugudem Canal, Buckingham Canal, Veda Rainam Canal and Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal too.⁴⁹

Mainly from Cocanada port were going gingely oil seeds, sugar, rice, while the principal imports consisted of iron, copper, gunny bags and various liquors during the period 1865 to 1870.⁵⁰

Tolls on inland traffic were levied at Vizag, Chicacole, Adoni and Bellary.⁵¹ The tolls in the first two Municipalities in 1875 amounted to Rs. 689-10-0 on 5,469 bandis, while in Adoni it came to Rs. 869 on 2,019 bandis (carts). Bellary was well-provided with a net-work of communications. The main line railway from Bombay to Madras traverses through it from north to south, while the Southern Maratha Railway connects it with

Dharwar. Food supplies could come by road from Nizam's territories and the other side of the Tungabhadra river and from Mysore. The principal towns and villages were connected with good metal roads of which 913 miles were kept in good order. There are few districts which provide so many facilities for trade distribution through rail and road.⁵²

Bridges and metal roads connected all important routes, but still there was ample scope for improvements. They were not sufficient for existing traffic while non-metal roads were virtually closed to wheeled traffic during the rains.⁵³

Roads

District	Miles	Cost of conveying one ton			
Ganjam	820	0	2	4	
Vizagapatam	632	0	2	0	
Godavary	702	0	4	0	
Kistna	774	0	3	6	0 3 0
Nellore	740	0	3	2	
Cuddapah	879	0	4	0	0 8 0
Bellary	1,412	0	2	10	
Kurnool	441	0	3	0	

In the hill tracts of Vizagapatam the rugged tracks used by pack bullocks were smoothened, and wooden bridges were constructed over some of the streams.⁵⁴

Several proposals were also made to extend the railways. From Cuddapah, a good railway would be from Gudiyattam in the North Arcot District right through the sub-division taluks of the district to join the new line at Tadipatri. Vizag desired the construction of a light railway from the east-coast towards Raipur as nature has provided a cleft in the eastern ghats and no pass over these ghats need be constructed.⁵⁵ But not much attention was paid to these proposals as these existing railways, roads and canals carried the commerce. A good deal of traffic was always in transit between the Godavary and the Kistna on the Canals. The value of this commerce in 1885-86 was Rs. 19.48 lakhs and in 1886-87 Rs. 27.60 lakhs and in 1887-88 it was Rs. 27.41 lakhs.⁵⁶ By 1890, the income from navigable canals by way of licence fees was Rs. 59,315 from boats, passengers and empty boats, while the value of goods transported amounted to Rs. 4,25,58,600.⁵⁷ In Cocanada, the total exports in 1901-02 amounted to Rs. 1,22,80,000 while the value of imports came to Rs. 25,10,000

making up a total commercial transaction of Rs. 1,47,90,000 taking a fifth place in the Presidency. Only in 3 out of 27 years, preceding 1902-03 did the total value rise to Rs. 20 lakhs and 1892-93, 239 lakhs. The value of commerce of this port in 1889-90 was Rs. 201 lakhs, 1896-97 Rs. 216 lakhs and 1892-93 Rs. 239 lakhs. In 1878-79 it fell to Rs. 75 lakhs but in other years, it was less than Rs. 100 lakhs. In 1903-04, the imports were valued at Rs. 38,73,000 and exports Rs. 1,67,31,000 making a total of Rs. 2,06,04,000.⁵⁸ The total foreign trade of Godavary alone amounted to Rs. 84,04,000 in 1903-04. The exports of cotton were valued at Rs. 33,93,000, of rice and paddy Rs. 29,90,000, oil seeds Rs. 9,25,000. Thus these commodities made up for 73 out of a total of Rs. 84 lakhs. Foodgrains amounted to Rs. 20,02,000, oil cake for Rs. 1,69,000, fibre for brushes for Rs. 1,56,000 and castor oil Rs. 97,000. Cotton sent to France was valued at Rs. 9,06,000, to Holland Rs. 6,42,000 and to Britain, Japan and other European countries at Rs. 3,32,000. Rice and paddy sent to Ceylon came to Rs. 8,67,000 and Strait Settlements Rs. 5,23,000, Mauritius Rs. 4,88,000 and Japan Rs. 2,76,000. Gingely oil was going to Ceylon and France and castor oil to Britain and Russia. Fibres and oil-cakes were going to Ceylon while tobacco in large quantities was going to Burma for cheroots.⁵⁹ The foreign import trade in 1903-04 was mainly in sugar worth Rs. 9,69,000, kerosene oil Rs. 7,47,000, various kinds of metals and metal goodware at Rs. 1,40,000, sugarcane from Java and kerosene from Russia Rs. 33,200, United States Rs. 2,61,000 and Sumatra Rs. 1,53,000. The coastwise trade of Godavary in 1904 consisted of imports of large quantities of iron, gunny bags from Calcutta worth Rs. 5 lakhs, cotton twist and yarn from Bombay worth Rs. 3 lakhs, groundnut oil from Madras port and cotton piecegoods from Bombay each about Rs. 1 lakh and cocoanut oil from Madras port worth Rs. 84,000.⁶⁰ Merchants by land also began selling opium by bringing it from Indore and other markets after obtaining licences to sell it openly.⁶¹ Bellary was getting 141½ lbs. from Malwa annually for internal consumption.⁶² In Vizag, the Government wanted to auction the privilege of selling opium to the highest bidder as in Jaggiahpetta in Kistna where Hemaraju Ramlal was asked to pay Rs. 600 for which he was allowed to sell at 3 tolas a rupee, the opium he was getting at 3½ tolas a rupee.⁶³ Vizag had the sale of intoxicating drugs at a premium in Berhampore, Chicacole and Gumsur where the sale proceeds for 1886 were Rs. 8,650, Rs. 7,500 and Rs. 6,400 respectively.⁶⁴

Malwa was sending Rs. 7,000 worth of opium weighing 141½ lbs. to Hyderabad via Khurdwa.⁶⁵ Kistna District was mostly getting its imports of 10 chests annually from Indore.⁶⁶ Kurnool had its own opium farms by this time.⁶⁷ Cuddapah was exporting wild skins to England. A cheeta skin was fetching from Rs. 2 to Rs. 7 while in London it was costing £ 2 to 3. A tiger skin was fetching Rs. 5 to Rs. 30 which was also highly valued in the London markets.⁶⁸

The railways were laid by private British commercial companies with British capital towards the end of the last century. Land was provided by the Government at original cost. The government also aided by guaranteeing interest at 3½% on the annual amount of capital stock for the time being. The government being entitled to retain from surplus profits from the company's earnings if any, the rupee equivalent of this interest. If the company's share for the year be less and the guaranteed interest, the deficiency was not to be made good out of the company's share of the subsequent year. Money for capital expenditure was provided by the Secretary of State either by advances made by him or by the issue of debentures, or debenture stock or further capital stock of the company. Such issues could only be made with the approval of the Secretary of State. Interest due on debentures or debenture-stock was paid by the Secretary of State. The rupee equivalent of this interest was paid to the Secretary of State out of the net earnings each half year.

After deducting from the gross of the company's and State's lines for half year the working expenses, the net earnings were used in (i) payment of rebate to South Indian Railway and to Bezawada-Masulipatam Railway, (ii) in repayment to the Secretary of State of the interest paid on debentures. But the undertaking was to be credited half-yearly with a sum equivalent to the guaranteed interest paid on the average amount, if any and (iii) the surplus was divided between the Secretary of State and the company in proportion to the respective shares in which the capital had been contributed by them for the time being. The M.S.M. Railway constructed the following lines :—

1. Puttur to Renigunta	..	..	15- 9-1862
2. Renigunta to Reddipalli	..	..	1-10-1864
3. Reddipalli to Cuddapah	..	..	1- 9-1865
4. Cuddapah to Mudannuru	..	..	1- 8-1866
5. Mudannuru to Tadipatri	..	..	1- 9-1868

6. Tadipatri to Gooti	1- 8-1869
7. Gooti to Tungabhadra River	12-12-1870
8. Tungabhadra to Raichur	15- 3-1871

(In all a total of 308.28 miles of railway)

The other lines were constructed on the dates mentioned below :—

1. Gudur to Nellore	1-11-1888
2. Nellore to Krishna Canal	20-12-1898
3. Bezawada to Kovur	20- 2-1893
4. Krishna Canal to Bezawada	15- 7-1897
5. Kovur to Rajahmundry	6- 8-1890
6. Rajahmundry to Waltair	15- 7-1893
7. Simhachalam to Waltair Jn.	15- 7-1893
8. Samalkota Jn. to Cocanada Port	15- 7-1893
9. Waltair to Vizag	15- 7-1893
10. Tenali to Repalle	8- 3-1916
11. Hospet to Bellary	24- 3-1884
12. Bellary to Guntakal	16- 5-1887
13. Nandyala to Cumbum	11- 7-1887
14. Cumbum to Tadepalle	15- 6-1890
15. Tadepalle to Bezawada	3-10-1889
16. Guntakal to Nandyal	16- 5-1887
17. Katpadi	18- 3-1881
18. Pallal to Vayalpaud	1- 1-1892
19. Vayalpaud to Dharmavaram	20- 3-1892
20. Pakala to Tirupati	18- 3-1891
21. Tirupati West to Gudur	15- 9-1897
22. Bezawada to Masulipatam	4- 2-1908

There was an agreement on 4th February 1908 between the District Board of Kistna and the M. S. M. Railway Company on the maintenance and working of the railway. For the Bezawada-Masulipatam Railway, the land was provided free of cost and the line was worked and maintained as an integral part of the Company's system by the M. S. M. Railway which provided the rolling stock and other appliances necessary therefor. For these services the Company was to receive half-yearly 45% of the gross earnings of the branch, the balance after meeting the cost of the new minor works were handed over to the District Board.

There was special obligation to carry mails, troops, police, high Government officials, Government stores, Government bullion and coin. The Government had the option of purchasing

the Branch Line on the expiry of 30 years or at subsequent periods of 10 years on ten months' notice given at a price of 25 times the yearly average net earnings of three years preceding the purchase subject to a maximum price of 120 and a minimum of 100 per cent of the cost price on the rupee basis. Dronachalam to Kurnool line was laid on 1-1-1909. The land was provided by Government at the cost of capital and the line was constructed by the Agency of M. S. M. Company subject to the general control of the Government, but the line has been maintained, stocked and worked by the Company on behalf of the State.

A lot of traffic was carried by these railways especially to places like Anantapur, Bellary, Cuddapah and Kurnool ; and the commerce mainly consisted of foodgrains, rice, wheat, jowar, raw cotton, silks, etc.⁶⁹

The exports of Circars chiefly consisted of calicoes and chintzes which were the staple manufactures, the finest being produced in the Godavary Delta. These manufacturers were sent to Europe and various ports of Asia, particularly to Persia, where the demand was extensive. Manganese mines were developed in Vizag, graphite in Godavary and mica in Nellore.⁷⁰

The sea ports of Cocanada, Bhimlipatam, Vizagapatam and Masulipatam were very busy commercial centres, exporting annually a number of goods worth lakhs of rupees. Commerce of Cocanada and other ports in 1914-15 was as follows :—

*Port Trade of the Andhra Districts
1914-1915*

(Figures in lakhs of rupees)

Place	Average of five years ending 1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	Increase or decrease in 1914-15	Percentage of increase for 1914-15
Cocanada	294.06	277.97	299.45	+28.52	5.18
Bhimlipatam	27.21	75.48	18.42	-57.06	0.38
Vizagapatam	22.74	48.79	13.62	-35.17	0.28
Masulipatam	18.93	7.80	9.38	+1.58	0.19

Masulipatam had gradually lost most of its former international prestige, but still remained the main port in the Kistna Delta. The port has few natural advantages. Large vessels cannot come within five miles of the shore and the native craft

has to carry the goods upto the ship which is another three miles up a tidal creek. Steamers were only occasionally touching the port by 1923. All foreign trade was chiefly by native craft with Ceylon, the principal exports being paddy, rice, gingely and cotton seeds.⁷¹ In 1922-23, about 151 vessels cleared with an aggregate tonnage of 12,449. A Port Officer and Customs Collector were stationed here. The port was in a very bad condition. It was never properly repaired from the disastrous damage of a cyclone in 1864.

About 120 miles off Masulipatam lies Cocanada, fourth in importance among the ports of the Presidency. Large steamers anchor about seven miles from the shore and service with them is maintained by lighters ranging from 16 to 86 tons which had their cargo at the numerous sheds situated near the mouth of the Cocanada Canal. There are 28 jetties and wharfs from which goods may be shipped. Cocanada with a population of 53,000 in 1924 was the headquarters of a Port Officer, Customs Collector and Inspector whose jurisdiction extends from Gopalpuram in Ganjam to Kotapatnam in Guntur. The European and Indian Mercantile Committees had separate Chambers of Commerce. The principal shipments were raw cotton to United Kingdom, France while paddy and rice were sent to Ceylon and Mauritius. The imports consisted chiefly of kerosene oil from America, unrefined sugar from Java and metals from the United Kingdom. Like Masulipatam, Cocanada is also connected with a railway upto Samalkota which is on the main line from Madras to Calcutta. In 1913-14, 192 steamers with an aggregate tonnage of 4,96,021 cleared the port. The corresponding figures for 1922-23 were 159 and 4,52,596.

The port of Vizagapatam is 545 miles from Calcutta and 105 miles north of Cocanada. Two miles from the port is Waltair, the junction of the M. S. M. and B. N. Railway. A scheme for the development of a deep water harbour by dredging out the silt in the swamp of 6 sq. miles and deepening a tidal creek which connects it with the creek was investigated and executed with expert efficiency. The area to be served by the port was also extended by the construction of a Branch Railway Line from Vijayanagaram to Raipur in Central Provinces which would tap an area rich in manganese, cotton and oil seeds. The existing shipping and landing wharfs which boast of a single big crane were on the northern side of the tidal creek about three furlongs from its mouth and steamers anchor

about a mile from the shore under the shelter of a wharf and are served by cargo boats of 2 tons each. The main exports consist of manganese, groundnut, mirabolam, molasses and in certain seasons there was considerable cooly traffic with Rangoon. All foreign imports were transhipped either at Calcutta or Madras, none being received direct. One hundred and sixty-four steamers with a tonnage of 3,90,663 cleared the port in 1913-14 and in 1922-23 the figures were 127 and 3,11,205 respectively.¹²

The port of Bhimlipatam is 21 miles north of Vizag. A good road connects it with Vizagapatam and Vijayanagaram at a distance of 16 miles. Apart from considerable cooly traffic with Rangoon for the Burma rice harvest there were also considerable exports through Bhimlipatam of jute, Myrabolam, moura and gingely oil seeds. Loading and unloading used to be done by lighters. There were many private godowns for storing produce awaiting shipment, but no wharfs or cranes. The number of steamers clearing in 1922-23 was 104, with an aggregate tonnage of 2,52,690 which were engaged in the coasting trade. The foreign trade which was never considerable was extinguished by the first World War.

In Ganjam, the only port deserving mention is Gopalpur, ten miles from Berhampur on the B. N. Railway. There was not much of foreign trade, but boats carrying cooly traffic to Rangoon called on it at certain intervals.

Very well organised Chambers of Commerce were started in the Andhra Districts quite early in the 19th century to look after trade and focus non-official opinion on Government actions. These associations, e.g., the Cocanada Chamber of Commerce and the Godavary Chamber of Commerce, were highly useful in appraising the bureaucracy about the problems of the commercial community. The Cocanada Chamber of Commerce was organised in 1868 with a Chairman and two members. It appointed arbitrators, conducted surveys and published all information important to trade and commerce. It had no branches, but represented the European merchants in Godavary, Kistna, Vizag and Ganjam. The Godavary Chamber of Commerce, so far called a native Chamber of Commerce, was started in 1885, by the Indian mercantile community.

rests and the indigenous native craft was the only source of

The mercantile marine mostly consisted of the foreign inter-transport for most of the Andhra ports.

Recently a shipbuilding yard was constructed at Vizag, by which the shipbuilding industry got an excellent impetus.

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N.B.—G.O. = Government Order; B.P. = Board Proceedings.

CHAPTER IX

REVENUE EXPERIMENTS

(1900-1947)

Agency Tracts: About $18\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the area of the Madras Presidency amounting to 6,791 sq. miles in Vizag and East Godavary Districts constituted the Agency Tracts inhabited by Koyas or the Adivasis. Though ryotwari tenure was introduced in several of these parts, in the interior hill valleys, the Malguzari, Muthadari, the Izara or the renting system were found to be in vogue. The chief merit of the Koya system of land tenures also known as the '*commaide*' system after the name of the Settlement Officer, consisted of joint village ownership and inalienability of land without the previous sanction of Government. Forty-two villages in Polavaram were settled on this basis for three years by Mr. Commaide after preliminary inquiries conducted by him.¹ They continued under this system till 1931, when they were settled under the ryotwari system.² The '*commaide*' settlement was only an official confirmation of the existing system of Koya village organisation in which land was jointly owned by the village and the revenue collected by the village headman. No one could sell his share of land or alienate it to any body else in lieu of debt. If he leaves the village, his share lapses to the common pool. By an Act of 1917, the Government wanted to protect them from the clutches of money lenders from the plains by prohibiting alienation of lands without the permission of the special assistant agent of Madras. Besides the major ryotwari land tenure, land was also held on (a) perpetual freehold under a title deed showing proprietorship as against the Government and paying no land revenue, and (b) land held under special conditions as on improvement leases known as cowles and for plantation of topes and groves of trees under certain favourable condition.³

Circars and Ceded Districts: The policy of revising revenue assessments at the end of every 30 years, made it necessary once again after 1900 to revise the settlements made during the period 1880-1900.

In 1903, revised settlements were introduced in the taluks of Tanuku, Bhimavaram, Narasipur, Amalapuram, Ramachandrapuram, Cocanada, Ellore, Yernagudam, Rajahmundry and Pedda-

puram in Godavary.⁴ The Delta and the upland tracts were differently dealt with in the old settlement. While in the up lands, the wet lands were charged a consolidated wet assessment in the Deltas, assessments were fixed on the basis of dry crops with a separate water rate charged for irrigation. In the re-settlement, the old uniform wet rate was considered unfair to the poorer lands. The alternatives left were either to charge graduated water rates giving the option to ryots to take or refuse water or to impose consolidated water rate without such option on lands regularly growing wet crops. The Board and Government held that it would serve no practical purpose to allow this option. Hence, ultimately compulsory consolidated wet rates were sought to be charged on all lands. The total area of the settled Government villages including occupied and unoccupied lands, minor Inams and Porambokes amounted to 16,83,061 acres or 2,630 sq. miles according to re-survey against 16,63,670 acres or 2,600 sq. miles as per revenue accounts, thus showing an increase of 19,391 acres or 30 sq. miles. This increase was due to the assessment of the hill villages for the first time.

The proportion of the Government and inam areas were 69% and 31% respectively. The prepondering soil on the Delta was alluvial amounting to 73% of the total area. The Regar or Black soil series accounted for 18% while the Arenaceous series contributed 9%. Only 2 groups were proposed out of 559 villages in the Delta; 52 full villages and portions of 16 others have been placed in the second group and all the rest in the first. Of the 52 villages placed in the second group, 28 shown against Amalapur and Narasapur taluks were on the sea coast and were mostly over-run with drainage and back water creeks and sand dunes. Irrigation for the whole Delta was from the Godavary, with the exception of 12 villages in the Ellore Taluk, which were irrigated by the Kistna Canals. The standard crops for wet lands and dry lands were white and black paddy. The computation rates were calculated on the average prices for the previous 20 years, omitting Fasli 1287 and 1288 which were famine years, when the prices were high. The commutation rate was taken at Rs. 118 per garce of 3,200 maunds, after deducting 15% or Rs. 21 for cost of carriage and merchants' profits from the average price of Rs. 139 per garce. The rate adopted for the previous settlement was Rs. 72 per Madras garce. There were 14 rates for dry ranging from Rs. 11 to As. 4 per acre and wet, 12 rates ranging from Rs. 12 to

Rs. 2-8-0. The highest ordinary dry rate was Rs. 7 applied to the superior dry lands. The revenue extent of holdings increased to 5,00,532 acres as against 4,95,858 acres shown in the scheme report. There was a decrease of nearly 14,000 acres under ordinary dry while under lankas and 'padugais' there was an increase of 5,000 acres and under wet an increase of 9,000 acres. According to the forecast report, the Revenue and Settlement areas of the holdings were 5,00,532, 5,00,412 and 4,95,085 acres respectively. Against those, the final figures were 5,00,532 and 4,95,245 acres. Compared with the revenue area and the re-survey area of the holdings showed a decrease of 5,287 acres or 1% of which 2,053 acres were under dry and 3,234 acres were under wet.

The increase of revenue calculated in the scheme report was Rs. 26,21,189. Deducting from this, half a lakh for reductions which it was considered would have to be made on account of the introduction of the four classes of irrigation instead of two only as had originally been contemplated ; the net estimated increase was Rs. 2,12,189. Against this, the increase reported in the forecast was Rs. 2,38,316 while the increase in the final figures was Rs. 2,35,158.

In Kurnool, the new settlement was made in 1910.⁵ No change was made in the classification of the dry lands except in (a) permanently improved lands, (b) unclassified or poramboke lands granted on patta, (c) unclassified waste lands, and (d) all genuine porambokes. The dry rate fixed at the last settlement included 8.17 in every 103.7 on account of cesses. As the cesses were calculated in the fresh settlement separately, 8.17% was restored as an enhancement of the land revenue, an enhancement more than justified by the rise in prices. The resettlement of dry rates were introduced in the four Taluks of Ramalkota, Nandikotkur, Nandyala and Sirvel by 1906. The total number of pattas for the four taluks was 53,215. In the classification of wet lands, the Ayacuts of all sources were raised and all lands irrigable were assigned a wet classification, the wet rates ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 2 per acre.⁶ Lands irrigated by Doruvu wells were proposed to be assessed at the dry rates and a water rate of half the difference between the dry and wet assessments with a falling remission of half the water rate irrespective of the crops grown. The total Ayacut of these wells was 907 acres. At the last settlement, lands under these wells were treated as irrigated and assessed at dry rates plus

a water rate of Rs. 3, the water rate and the dry rate being treated as a consolidated wet rate. The same classification was retained in the new settlement and a wet classification was assigned after inspection to enable the Revenue Department to fix the differential water rate when water is taken.⁷ Again, since the last settlement an extent of 894 acres of patta lands had been taken up for public purposes such as roads, channels, village sites, etc., and all this had been shown as poramboke. About 27 acres of Government and 111 acres of inam were declared as freehold while a total of 95.99 acres was allotted for the granting of special rates of Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 2-3-0. Old and new survey plans had been compared and an excess of 123.31 acres of minor inams were sub-divided, treated as ryotwari and were granted pattas. The increase in dry was 7.8 and in wet 17.5% or 8.5 on the whole. There is a lot of wet land commanded by the Kurnool Canal. The difference between revenue and resettlement assessment was an increase of 37.6% which did not look out of the way as the lands were registered as wet for the first time and maximum water rate of Rs. 4 per acre was charged.

The general financial results of the whole tract were as follows :—

	Extent Acres	Assessment Rs.
As per Revenue	..	7,42,589
As per Settlement	..	8,26,362
	—2,925	+83,773

The decrease in area was due to re-survey whereas the increase in assessment of 11.3 was due to the increase in dry rates and to the classification of canal fed lands as wet. As per revenue accounts, the average dry rates ranged from Rs. 0-11-5 to Rs. 1-1-5 and the average wet rates from Rs. 6-1-2 to Rs. 5-3-4. As per settlement accounts, the average dry rates ranged from Rs. 0-12-4 to Rs. 1-2-10 and the average wet rates from Rs. 8-7-6 to Rs. 6-12-11. The increase by resettlement was Rs. 82,617.⁸

Resettlement of Pattikonda Taluk was also taken up in 1906.⁹ This region was badly affected by famines and there was an increase in the number of small holdings. For dry lands, cholum was the standard crop, and the commutation rate on the basis of the previous twenty years was taken as Rs. 130. Culti-

vation expenses were the same as for Kurnool, cost of bullocks, implements, manure, seeds, feed of cattle all ranging from Rs. 4-9-10 to Rs. 1-10-1. As the Taluk had not recovered from the famine effects, the dry rates were left unaltered. The extent of wet land registered in Pattikonda was 5164.31 acres. The standard crop was paddy and the average commutation rate on the basis of the price of the previous twenty years was Rs. 133. But, after allowing 10% for the merchants' profits, the net commutation rate was Rs. 120. Again, a deduction of 25% for agricultural risks and cultivation expenses ranging from Rs. 17-4-1 to Rs. 3-10-0 was then allowed and a series of rates ranging from Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 7-0-0 were deduced. As a result of the famine about one-third of the Inams reverted to Government and still there was a decrease of 12% in Government holdings, while the unoccupied waste had increased from 621 to 1,784 acres. In the fresh settlements, the wet rates were raised, by taking the same commutation rate as for Kurnool, i.e. Rs. 139. Hence the wet rates ranged from Rs. 8 to Rs. 2 per acre. The settlement rates fixed in Koilkuntla originally along with taluks of Cuddapah, Proddatur and Jammalamadugu were revised.¹⁰ In the previous settlement 15% for Jonna and 12% for Korra were deducted for carriage and merchants' profits and the commutation rates were Rs. 139 from Jonna and Rs. 100 for Korra per garce. If 21% for agricultural risks and cultivation expenses ranging from Rs. 6-2-9 to Rs. 1-14-3 were deducted, the resulting half net values gave the rates ranging from Rs. 5 to annas 4. The commutation rates calculated after allowing 10% for merchants' profits was Rs. 126 and after deducting 25% for agricultural risks and cultivation expenses from Rs. 19 to Rs. 5-13-0 rates range from Rs. 12 to Rs. 2-3-0. The result of the settlement was an increase of 3% in area by survey and 2,182 or 11% in assessment. This was not accepted without considerable protest, as the rates were previously high. The effects of the last famine in 1876-78 proved disastrous. Population decreased by 23% and holdings by 10%. This was serious, but equally serious as in any other part of the district. However, the standard crops chosen for commutation, namely, cholam and korra were Rs. 170 and Rs. 163 per garce. The new commutation rates were much more favourable than the old ones. The existing dry rates were left unchanged. But consolidated rates were imposed on all lands registered as "wet". The total wet area of 5,315 acres of the last settlement, came to 4,833 acres by the

time of the new settlement due to the relinquishments of lands on account of the heavy assessments. The commutation rate of paddy adopted for settlement was Rs. 166 and allowing a deduction of 15% for merchants' profits, the net commutation rate came to Rs. 141 against Rs. 121 adopted at the previous settlement. The maximum and minimum rates varied from Rs. 11 to Rs. 2. There was no irrigation source fit to be placed in the first-class and hence the maximum rate came to be only Rs. 10. The average assessment on 2,518 acres of occupied wet came to Rs. 8-3-2 and the loss of revenue would be about Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000. Both Pattikonda and Koilkuntla taken together, the decrease in assessment was Rs. 7,961 in Pattikonda and Rs. 6,491 in Koilkuntla.¹¹ This was due to numerous transfers from wet to dry, to the transfer of Deruvu and Dasabhandam wells lands to dry, to the reclassification of permanently improved dry lands, to the regrading of sources and the more judicious treatment of the wet lands and to several other minor causes.¹²

In Cumbum and Markapur taluks of Kurnool, the original settlements expired on June 30, 1907¹³ and proposals for resettlements were approved on April 14, 1909.¹⁴ The old rates of assessments on "dry lands" were not interfered with at resettlement, while wet lands were reclassified and assessed at rates ranging from Rs. 2 to As. 10 an acre. Lands classified as permanently improved at the original settlement were also reclassified, while lands which were left unclassified or registered as porambokes at the original settlement, but which were subsequently granted Patta and assessed by the Revenue Department for the 1st time.¹⁵ The financial results showed an aggregate decrease of Rs. 6,299 in Cumbum and Rs. 2,365 in Markapur. The decrease in assessment was due to the transfer of lands from "wet" to "dry" and more equitable treatment of inferior soils.¹⁶

In Cuddapah, the initial settlement expired in all the taluks of Jammalmadugu, Proddatur and Cuddapah on June 30, 1904.¹⁷ Fresh settlement was sanctioned in 1907.¹⁸ The total number of villages dealt with was 314 with an aggregate area of 1,253 sq. miles according to the revenue survey. On Government occupied lands old rates of assessment on dry lands were unaltered while wet lands were classified into five sorts with rates varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 an acre. The financial results represented an aggregate decrease of Rs. 8,181 in Jammalmadugu, Rs. 25,365 in Cuddapah, while there was a net increase

of Rs. 16,284 in Proddatur. The decrease in Jammalamadugu and Cuddapah was ascribed to the transfer of large areas from wet to dry and to the imposition of reduced rates of assessments on wet lands under minor sources.¹⁹ In Rayachoti taluk of Cuddapah²⁰ the initial settlement expired in Fasli 1320 and proposals for resettlement were sanctioned.²¹ The total number of villages dealt with was 86, comprising an area of 4,22,850 acres according to revision survey. As compared with the previous survey, there was a decrease of 1,92,148 acres or 31.24% which was attributed to the exclusion of forest area.

There was no general reclassification of soils. Both wet and dry rates were left unchanged ; which meant a decrease of Rs. 14,047 or 20% on wet and increase of Rs. 5,894 or 11% on dry lands. The net financial result in both was a decrease of Rs. 8,065 or 6.6%.

In the resettlement of Pullampet taluk of Cuddapah the dry grouping of villages was unaltered and no change was made in the table of dry rates, or in the soil classification of dry lands except permanently improved land. The wet grouping of villages was also abandoned in favour of classification of individual sources.²² The total number of 89 villages remained unchanged. The Kistbandy underwent no change. The large decrease in area of revision survey amounting to 2,53,553 acres was due to the exclusion of reserved forests from the villages. The assessment on dry lands had increased by more than Rs. 3,000 chiefly due to transfer of wet to dry lands. The financial results taking wet and dry together showed a decrease in assessment of 13.37%.²³

In Bellary and Anantapur, resettlements were done by 1926.²⁴ Lands shown as porambokes in the revenue accounts, but not required for canal use, were registered as assessed or unassessed waste as they were fit for cultivation or not. There was no general reclassification of soils or irrigation sources. Only transfers of land from dry to wet and wet to dry were carried out on the lines of resettlement. No lands were registered as permanent double-crop lands in the original settlement. At resettlement, holders of land which in ordinary seasons had an unfailing water supply for two wet crops were given the option of having their lands registered as double-crop at $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the single crop assessment, but this privilege was not availed of by many ryots even in the case of lands irrigated by such a perennial source as the Tungabhadra. Lands irrigated

by channels taking off from Peda Hagari or the Pennar and the tanks fed by the former were registered as double crop at $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the single crop assessment, while the rest were registered as double crops.

There was an increase of both in occupied dry and occupied wet lands ; the area occupied by dry lands had increased from 11,09,209 to 11,12,722 acres. Similarly, the area occupied by wet lands had increased from 35,706 acres to 36,609 by 2.53%. These increases occurred in almost all the taluks and were due mainly to the assignment on Patta lands. The unoccupied dry area had decreased by 7.20% of the revenue extent, the decrease being appreciable in all the taluks except Hadagalli and the villages transferred from Rayadrug where there was an increase of 10.94% and 12.64% respectively due to large transfers of land. The decrease in dry areas was the largest in Hospet 30.98%, due mainly to the transfer of land from assessed waste dry to unassessed poramboke. The unoccupied wet area had decreased on the whole by 24.79% of the revenue extent, the decrease occurring in all the taluks of Hospet 31.92%, Hadagalli, 16.67%, Harpanahalli 65.79%, Kudligi 18.39%, Rayadrug 21.87% and Kalyandrug 9.09%. In Inams, there was a decrease of 11.3 acres or .79 in dry and an increase of 718 acres or 9.30% in wet. On the whole, the net increase in revenue was Rs. 2,23,660 less Rs. 1,94,366, i.e., Rs. 28,574 or 14.76% over the revenue assessment of Rs. 1,94,866 for both Tungabhadra and non-Tungabhadra lands. Of this the former accounts for an increase of Rs. 13,125 or 18.37%, the latter came to Rs. 15,629 or 12.68%. In the dry lands, the total revenue demand of Rs. 5,35,120 had increased by Rs. 55,050 or 10.33% to Rs. 5,88,130 on resettlement.²⁵

In Anantapur, the original settlement contained 355 villages, including Anantapur, Kalyandrug, Dharmavaram and Penukonda in 1896-97 and the two southern taluks of Hindupur and Madakasira in 1897-98. The resettlement of the central taluks was due in 1926-27 and that of southern taluks in 1927-28. As in the original settlement, no lands were registered as permanent double crop, now the lands having perennial water supply were registered as double crop area assessed at $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the single crop assessment. The application of the revised rates was expected to result in an increase of 12 $\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the existing revenue of the wet lands and 8% total revenue of the wet and dry together.²⁶

Thus, every resettlement meant an almost invariable increase

in the assessments, for one reason or other and the commutation rates that were taken as the basis had no realistic basis to support them. Such fixation of heavy assessments even in areas where the ryotwari land revenue method was in progress destroyed all incentives for improvements in agriculture. In the zamindary areas of the Circars, the position was equally bad. All lands under cultivation and near irrigation sources were made to pay continuous heavy assessments. The principle permanent settlement was totally ignored, the zamindar enhancing the rents according to his whims and fancies. The lot of the zamine ryot was an unenviable one. The ryots were compelled to pay rents whether the land was cultivated or not. In estates like Venkatagiri, the ryots were to cultivate turmeric every three years and even if it was not done rates fixed on that basis had to be paid. In Pithapuram lands were exchanged between cultivators to see who would cultivate better and pay more.²⁷ The ryots could not so easily ask for a reduction as the zamindar could enhance. The Estates Land Act of 1903 divided the ryots into two categories, i.e., those with and without occupancy rights. The assessment to be paid by the first were to be fixed, while the second were free to enter into contracts with land holders. Both proved ineffective and the agitation for the abolition of the zamindaries grew wild, as it was a much belated piece of reform. They ought to have been abolished at the very beginning of this century when the Government of India had found that this method of tenure was "not justified by the experiment of any civilized country".²⁸ Agricultural improvement to a great extent was arrested by this anachronistic method of land revenue. The Indian National Congress adopted "this removal of the intermediate between the peasant and the State on payment of equitable compensation", by abolishing zamindaries as one of its pledges in its election manifesto in 1945. The Board of Revenue, Madras, felt the system outlived itself and even the zamindaries themselves would welcome abolition provided they were given reasonable compensation.²⁹

By 1939, the total revenue received by the zamindars was Rs. 232.6 lakhs, while the Peshcush paid by them to Government was only Rs. 41.2 lakhs. The present role of the zamindars was about $4\frac{1}{2}$ times the rental value of the zamindari estate at the permanent settlement amount of Rs. 73 lakhs as calculated on the basis of Peshcush³⁰ at the proportionate rate of two-thirds to the State and one-third to the zamindar. Though it is not

possible to have an accurate estimate of the financial loss to the Province due to the zamindari method, it could be safely kept at one crore of rupees at a very low estimate and taking direct and indirect charges at Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 crores annually. Calculated at this rate, the aggregate loss—financial and economic—that ruined the Andhra Districts from 1802 to the date of their abolition would run to some astronomical figures. This disastrous havoc would more poignantly strike even a casual enquirer when he finds that in districts like Vizag, Chittoor and East Godavary, 90% to 50% of the lands were zamindary.³¹

The wide divergence between rent roll and Peshcush was the chief characteristic of this most discredited system of land tenure in the world as could be seen from the table below :—

*Divergence between the Rent Roll and Peshcush
paid for some estates in 1939*

Name of the Estate	District in which located	Rent roll at present Rs.	Peshcush at present Rs.	Percentage of Peshcush to Rent Roll
1. Mandasa	Vizag	2,76,059	12,816	1/21
2. Budarasingi	„	24,885	448	1/55
3. Tarla	„	1,06,937	3,407	1/31
4. Mumbagan	„	33,961	600	1/56
5. Tangedu	„	55,991	1,511	1/37
6. Gatwada	„	31,133	1,240	1/25
7. Gangol	„	2,61,572	5,050	1/52
8. Medur	Kistna	11,645	33	1/353
9. Munagala	„	1,66,287	8,080	1/20
10. Gamallagudem	„	1,25,680	4,511	1/28
11. Laingalagiri	„	34,357	1,718	1/19
12. Daninivelluru	„	20,000	1,486	1/41

The Floud Commission had aptly remarked : "The permanent settlement has stereotyped land revenue at a figure far below the fair share which the Government ought to receive and is substantially less than the share taken where there is

no permanent settlement and where the land is less productive.

"The limitation of the revenue payable by the zamindars coupled with their exemption from any income-tax on agricultural incomes throws an undue burden on other classes of tax payers."³²

The Madras Estates Act of 1908 provided for the first time that a zamindar or ryot might petition to the Collector to have the grain rents commuted to definite money rents. Rates in kind differed from district to district. Crop war rates prevailed in Kistna, Guntur, Nellore, Chittoor and Godavary zamindaries. Under the varam system, the proportion of the share was usually half the gross produce, though there were also instances where it was one-third to two-thirds. It was half the produce in estates like Telagam, Tumbura, Nanganadhapuram, Nandigama, Nowgam, etc., in Vizag District. Cropwari rents were prevalent in the Chittoor zamindaries like Tirupati, Karvetinagar, Punganur and to a great extent in Nellore zamindaries and in a few estates of the districts of the Kistna and Godavary.³³

The zamindary rates were as a rule four to five times higher than the Government rates. According to an inquiry made by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee into the low and high rates prevailing in 93 and 67 typical villages in Andhra situated in petty estates and zamindaries revealed the average low rate to be Rs. 14-4-2 and the average high rate Rs. 24-8-0 per acre. The lowest rate was not less than Rs. 12 per acre while the maximum was Rs. 59 per acre on paddy growing lands.³⁴

As the permanent regulation did not clearly specify the amount of the rent to be paid by the ryot to the zamindar, the zamindar went on enhancing rents, e.g., Koyyur in Gollapalle Estate, West Gadavary was assessed at Rs. 2,448-8-4 in 1894 which rose to Rs. 5,537-8-0 in 1938.³⁵ Besides these exacting rates, there were a variety of 'mamools' (gifts), which the ryots were expected to pay to the zamindars.

In spite of all these rapacious exactions, the zamindars hardly induced any interest in land improvement in the zamindaries. These fabulous amounts were wasted on uneconomic personal expenditure of pomp and splendour, foreign travel, horse racing or gambling, building palaces, sports or politics as in the case of Pithapuram and Bobbilli or on cinema studios in other cases like Mirzapuram and Challapalli. Some of them were heavily indebted and their estates had gone under court of wards.³⁶

Statement showing Allowance to the Ward and Other Members of the Family of the Estates under Court of Wards, as compared with respective amounts of Total Demand, Charges for Establishment, Maramat and Government Peishcush

District	Estates	Allowance to the Ward and other members of the family		Land, Forests, Misc. Revenue Demand Rs.	Government Demand Rs.	Government commission for management Rs.	Establishment charges for management Rs.	Maramat expenditure on buildings, irrigation, etc. Rs.
		Rs.	Rs.					
Vizag	Kurupam	34,337	1,73,778	31,807	4,076	31,046	21,854	
	Vizianagaram (Imparible)	4,22,919	29,16,562	8,24,807	31,402	3,23,229	3,74,484	
	Vizianagaram (Joint family)	6,365	8,544	4,05,618	4,071	24,065	144	
Kistna	South Vellur							
	Part I	13,345	1,11,491	29,637	2,450	1,585	6,105	
Neilore	Chundi	6,559	41,495	27,761	949	9,706	3,129	

The economic condition of the zamindars was reminiscent of the middle ages. There were no improvements in irrigation or technical advances or schools or provision for agricultural credit. The ryots lived a most impoverished life. As Raghava Iyyengar said, before the commencement of the present century, the ryots in the zamindary as well as those who paid revenue direct to the Government were rack rented and oppressed. During the last 90 years, the latter class of ryots prospered in consequence of the measures adopted from time to time for amelioration of their conditions, while the former have remained in much the same condition as before.³⁷

The Estates Land Act of 1909 strengthened the landlords enabling them to recover Cist as the first charge on land. In 1909, an amendment to the Act was made with regard to clarifying relations of the zamindars and inamdaras regarding recovery of dues of zamindars from the inamdaras. The Madras Estates Land Bill which was introduced in the Legislature in 1938 with a view to vesting the ryot with proprietary right in the soil could not be enacted due to the strong opposition of the landed interests. Again this Bill suffered from some serious economic defects when it tried to reintroduce the Cists settled at the time of the permanent settlement, without taking into consideration the changes that had taken place since. This inconsistency did

not go unnoticed by the late Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, who pointed out this fact, in a dissenting minute.³⁸ Though, the Prakasam Committee Report gathered a lot of valuable information, it signally failed in certain respects like fixing up a proper basis of revenue rates, dealing with problems of absentee landlordism, etc. In 1947, two Bills, one for the reduction of the rents in the zamindary areas and the other for the abolition of the zamindary system by paying compensation were passed almost simultaneously.³⁹

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CHAPTER X

AGRICULTURE

(1900-1947)

The agriculturist in Andhra, mostly in Rayalaseema, had always the misfortune of being caught in the clutches of one famine or the other and had but brief spells of prosperity in which he could recover from their effects.

In 1900, there was famine and scarcity in Narsapur and Vinukonda. In 1901, the distress was in Rayachoti, Badvel and Jammalamadugu, Pulevendla of Cuddapah, Tadipatri, Gooty of Anantapur, Chittoor, Chandragiri, Madanapalli, Palmaner and Vyalpad of Chittoor district. There was a respite for nearly 20 years. In 1919, a famine raged in the Kistna and Nandigama taluks due to excess of rain followed by scarcity of rains.¹ Test works were opened at a cost of Rs. 28,411. In three years again, the south-east monsoon failed and there was lack of adequate irrigation. Consequently, there was a serious drought affecting Adoni, Alur, Siriguppa and Bellary, Gooty of Anantapur, Pattikonda, Done, Kurnool and Nandikotkur taluks of Kurnool. Test works were opened from the end of 1920 upto 1922 in Bellary, Anantapur and Kurnool at a total cost of Rs. 11,06,295. There was famine again in 1924, affecting Bellary, Anantapur, Gooty, Madakasira, Penukonda, Dharmavaram and Hindupur due to failure of rain. Test works in Bellary and Anantapur during 1924 cost the Government about Rs. 2,21,545. The Ceded Districts were a constant famine tract, exposed to frequent failures of monsoon. In 1931-32 again Bellary and Alur were hit by famine, the District Board first opened the Public Works with grants amounting to Rs. 1,60,000, while Government expenditure came to Rs. 1,14,955. With 1932, set in a favourable monsoon, ending the drought. In 1934-35, six taluks in Anantapur (Gooty, Tadipatri, Anantapur, Dharmavaram, Penukonda and Hindupur) and four in Bellary (Bellary, Siriguppa, Alur and Rayadrug) were in the grip of famine due to poor rainfall and the consequent loss of food due to inadequate reserves of food stocks, lack of employment, contraction of credit and absence of private charity. Relief works opened in December 1934 continued till the end of September 1935. There were fourteen works in Bellary, 68 in Anantapur, all costing together Rs. 17,23,452. In

1937-38 there was another famine of greater magnitude affecting east of the districts of Bellary, Gooty, Tadipatri, taluks of Anantapur and Kurnool including Pattikonda in Kurnool. The total cost of relief operations came to Rs. 17 lakhs.

The peculiar position of the Ceded Districts was such that they were liable to famine due to failure of monsoon owing to the frequent and abnormal variations of the seasons. West Taluks of Bellary enjoyed better rainfall due to their proximity to Sandur Hills. Compared to these districts there was little rainfall in Kurnool, Cumbum and Markapur. But they had some tanks, channels and irrigation works. The entire ayacut of Cuddapah, Kurnool Canal in Kurnool, Nandikotkur, Nandyla, Koilkuntla, Sirvel, Proddatur, Cuddapah taluks were protected and outside the famine zone. Most parts in Cuddapah got the north-east monsoon than the other parts in Ceded Districts and therefore were much less likely to be seriously affected than the tracts which had to miss both the monsoons.² Greater part of Anantapur, particularly Hindupur, Penukonda, in the south of Tadipatri, Gooty, Kalyandrug and the five taluks in Bellary, in the north were never free from the possibility of distress. A population of a million was mostly housed in villages. Only towns were Tadipatri, Gooty and Adoni. Guntakal was the only centre of communications with several roads leading to all the districts. Groundnut decorticating and cotton ginning were the chief seasonal employments. There were a number of tanks depending for their supply of water on small catchments. Well irrigation too was common. Channels were fed from the Hagari River in Rayadrug Taluk and from Pennar in Anantapur, to irrigate paddy and other crops. Dry crops depended on south-west monsoon and were harvested from September to October. Cholum and korra were the main food crops, while on the red soils, the groundnut took the place of pride in the place of cotton forming the chief source for meeting the assessment.

To understand to what extent, cultivation in the Ceded Districts depended on vagaries of the monsoon, we have only to look at the figures of rainfall and irrigations, e.g. in Bellary, 2.7% of the crop area, in Anantapur 11.1%, in Kurnool including Cuddapah canal only 5.9%, and in Cuddapah 22.4% was irrigated. The districts of Bellary and Anantapur paid a land revenue of Rs. 31,85,264 (1936-37) out of which Rs. 36,147 had to be remitted for unfavourable seasons. Average remission in Anantapur came to 1/6th of the demand. In addition to this, there were

the huge amounts of famine expenditure every time, for which there was very little return. The existing irrigation facilities are shown below :

Area Irrigated in Ceded Districts (1936-37)
(acres)

Sources	Kurnool	Bellary	Anantapur	Cuddapah
Government Canals	44,228	16,062	34,575	51,430
Private Canals	11	84	744	385
Tanks	31,772	15,693	73,747	57,589
Wells	19,076	9,491	56,755	82,463
Other sources	3,634	7,027	796	20,554
Total area irrigated	98,721	48,357	1,66,617	2,12,421
Total area sown	20,54,343	23,49,363	19,56,106	10,54,204

Kurnool and Cuddapah had large forest areas. The net area sown was largest in Bellary and smallest in Cuddapah as shown below : Crops grown were mostly dry crops like cholum, ragi, cumbu, and cotton.

Classification of Area in Ceded Districts⁸
1936-37

Districts	Area in Ceded Districts ⁸						Total area of the districts
	Forests	Not available for cultivation	Cultivable waste other than fallow	Current fallow	Net area sown	Acre	
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres
1. Kurnool	16,48,019	3,15,089	5,65,314	2,77,852	23,49,363	48,60,651	
2. Bellary	3,61,236	2,15,741	3,95,892	3,21,173	23,49,363	36,43,485	
3. Anantapur	4,56,588	3,15,802	10,54,153	5,24,404	19,56,106	43,07,053	
4. Cuddapah	11,52,250	4,99,093	7,10,173	38,795	10,54,204	37,24,695	

The main trade of the Ceded Districts, consisted of transactions in cash crops. Usually groundnuts, dyes and tans and cotton from Bellary and Anantapur, oil seeds other than ground-nuts from Bellary went out from these districts to meet the demand in other parts. Groundnuts, especially were exported

to China, French West and Equatorial Africa, U.S.A., Nigeria and West Africa. There was a phenomenal increase in groundnut production after 1918, India producing half the world's total output.⁴

Madras Commercial Crop Act of 1933, with its Amendment of 1939, provided for securing better regulation of buying and selling of commercial crops like cotton, groundnut and tobacco and to establish markets. This was a step in the right direction to help the agriculturists.

The four Ceded Districts together accounted for 38.8% of the total groundnut area in 1940-41, Guntur and Kistna Districts for 12.7% and Vizag for 5.8%. In 1934-35 alone, the area sown under groundnut decreased by 39% due to insufficient rains, and low prices.⁵ By 1941, the percentage of area under groundnut increased considerably in Ceded Districts, Kurnool constituting 22.5% of the total area.

Groundnut crop was mainly rain fed, but it was also grown under irrigation. The yield per acre varied according to the variety of the soil, treatment and season during the period of the growth. The average production of unshelled nuts per acre in the Ceded Districts, in 1940 came to be 1,500 lbs. in Kurnool, 1,250 lbs. in Gooty, 1,200 lbs. in Chittoor, 1,000 lbs. in Anantapur and Adoni, 800 lbs. in Kadri, 780 lbs. in Proddatur and 650 lbs. in Tadipatri.

The average yield per acre in India compared favourably with other countries like Africa, U.S.A., but China, Argentina, Mauritius usually produce much more per acre than India. Kurnool in the Ceded Districts had the largest acreage and also the largest average production from 1936 to 1941. Guntur, Anantapur, Bellary and North Arcot were also important groundnut centres. Vizag produced on an average 1,50,000 tons per year upto 1941. Exports were mainly by sea to foreign countries like France, Germany, Netherlands which took nearly 70% to 80% of the total production. The year 1938-39 witnessed a record export of 8,23,000 tons, but the break of war had an adverse effect reducing exports to 4,27,000 tons.

Groundnut oil useful for domestic consumption was sent by rail to several places. The exports in 1940 to Ellore, Venkata-giri, Nellore, Renigunta, Cuddapah, Kodur, Kondapuram, Bellary, Rayadrug, Madavapalli, Kalahasti, Dharmavaram, Penukonda, Hindupur, Tadipatri, Chittoor, and Tirupati came to 24,598 mds.

Groundnut oil cake was mainly sent to Germany and

Ceylon. In 1930-31, Germany took 5,950 tons or 67% of foreign exports, Ceylon 2,859 tons or 31% and U.K. took 1,328 tons. The main source of information regarding the prices of groundnuts for wholesale merchants at several places in the Presidency were sub-agents of the exporting firms. These firms had sub-agencies at 40 to 50 market centres in the Presidency and also used to publish a weekly Gazette. Besides the radio, the post, telephone and telegraphic communications were used to intimate price changes. The groundnut that was retained for internal consumption was also sent to decortication factories which numbered 65 in Bellary, 67 in Kurnool, 68 in Guntur, 72 in Vizag, 41 in Anantapur, 32 in Cuddapah, 43 in Kistna, 5 in Chittoor, 12 in West Godavary and one each in Nellore and East Godavary in 1937.

When the groundnuts were taken to the market for sale, a number of deductions used to be made from the weight of the produce and its sale proceeds and the balance was paid to the seller. These deductions varied from market to market. In Chittoor, the unshelled groundnuts were sold by producers to wholesale merchants or factory owners on cash basis and no separate charges were made on the price fixed by the buyer.

The oil was mostly used for edible purposes or for adulterating other vegetable oils and as such the prices were influenced by the prices of other vegetable and edible oils.⁶

Producers had to borrow very often from village money-lenders for harvest expenses at rates of interest varying from 12% to 30% or had to sell it at less than the market price. Banks were not able to go to their rescue even up to 1940. Generally, owners of decorticating factories or small merchants used to lend to cultivators. The village merchants who used to collect the produce for the wholesale merchant, got a commission of 6 pies to an anna per bag; when the cultivators found the market rate low, they used to deposit it in the godown, and take 60% to 80% of the price. When the produce was sold, the commission agent recovered his loan with interest and rent for the godown.

Cashewnuts

Another important commercial crop was the cashewnut produced to the extent of 750 tons in East Godavary, 500 tons in West Godavary and 250 tons in Guntur and Vizagapatam. The area under cultivation in 1940 in each of these districts, was 1,500 acres, 1,000 acres and 500 acres respectively.

Dry lands unfit for regular crops were used for cashewnut planting at the rate of 1,000 trees per acre. After three years, weaklings were removed, leaving 200 per acre and by 7th year hardly 100 trees per acre. There are usually three seasons of growth, the first flush is in summer, again in July and then in November each year. Adequate quantity was not grown even to meet the requirements of the Madras State, and imports were mainly from Portuguese East Africa, South Africa, Kenya, U.K., Ceylon, Zanzibar, and Burma. The exports from Andhra were mainly to Cochin, to the tune of 0.57 lakhs annually. The tender and roasted nuts were considered delicacies of food. The common unit of measure used in wholesale buying and selling was the bag varying from 130 lbs. to 196 lbs. in different localities. The average price per maund was from Rs. 6-2-0 to Rs. 6-8-0 towards 1940. They were also roasted and sold in ready made packets for immediate consumption.

There were in all about 50 factories in the State, out of which only 4 belonged to Messrs. Pierce & Leslie and were in up-to-date condition with good machinery, etc. Of these 22 were situated in 4 places in Andhra like Palsa, Vetapalem, Mori and Nellore where there were 6, 10, 4 and 2 factories handing 1,750, 1,500, 500 and 250 tons per year respectively in 1940.

In villages, petty dealers used to make house to house collection, then assemble this quantity in weekly markets or take them to the nearest town. From weekly shandies, the nuts used to go to the merchants and then to cashewnut factories. Except in large factories, storage facilities were inadequate. Distribution and transport was done by bullock carts and the railway. The railway had two rates for them : (a) class rate applicable for loads below 300 tons, and (b) the wagon rate. The growers were few. The plants grew on wasteland. There was no yield for 4 years and afterwards the transactions were through the commission agents. As the cashewnut was known for its nutritive value, there was considerable demand, from Central Provinces, United Provinces, Mysore, Nizam's Dominions and United States of America, but still its growth had not increased in the Andhra districts as the encouragement and propaganda needed for its extension were conspicuous by their absence.

Tobacco

Tobacco is the only crop of overwhelming importance, among the cash crops in the Andhra. It was grown from the

fifties of the 19th century in Guntur and Bapatla. By 1940, Madras was producing 1/5th of India's total production, i.e. Rs. 5 crores out of a total of Rs. 18 crores. Main lines of improvement lie in its marketing, standardisation of quality, regulating market charges, improving pressing methods and dissecting the quality and quantity to meet suitable markets.⁷ Guntur had been the largest tobacco growing area in Madras with an average of 1,24,000 acres by 1940. Next came Vizag with 39,000 acres. Increased growth in the Presidency had always been associated with increase in the Guntur district. Since 1910, the crop in this district increased nearly by 76,000 acres, or 160%, compared to an increase of 37% in the Presidency. With enormously increased consumption of cigarettes, it became necessary to concentrate more and more on Cigarette Tobacco and to give up the old varieties and methods used for cigarette tobacco. The Imperial Council of Agriculture Research established, at Guntur, a sub-station of the Research Institute for studying the effects of environmental conditions on the quality of Cigarette Tobacco.⁸

The normal yield per acre in terms of cured leaf was 1,008 lbs. For Virginia tobacco, which was usually rain fed crop, the normal yield is 750 lbs. per acre compared to 1,000 lbs. of country tobacco in the districts of Guntur, East and West Godavary and Kistna. The yield was lowest in the Ceded Districts, ranging from 600 to 700 lbs. of cured leaf per acre. A number of varieties were grown like (a) the cigarette tobacco, (b) cigar and cheroot tobacco, (c) chewing tobacco, (d) snuff tobacco, (e) beedi tobacco, (f) hukka tobacco, etc. Bulk of the country tobacco was of brownish colour and of moderately thin texture. Length of the leaf is 15" and breadth 6 to 9 inches. Nicotine and ash contents came to 2 to 18%. Virginia tobacco was a speciality and about 1,07,600 acres were under this crop by 1939. Vizag tobacco was mainly useful for cheyroots. In the deltas of Godavary and Kistna, it was grown on 'Lankas' or islands. The Godavary 'Lanka' tobacco usually varied from brownish tinge to dark green. Tobacco grown in Kistna 'lankas' varied from dark purple to brown. Tobacco grown in non-lanka areas was used for snuff, cheyroots and chewing. The famous variety for snuff was grown in Mustabad of Kistna district.

Virginia tobacco which was useful for cigarettes manufacturing was grown only in the Andhra districts of Guntur, the two Godavaries, Kistna and Nellore as shown below:

*Estimated area under Virginia in Madras upto 1940
(acres)*

District	1934-35	35-36	36-37	37-38	38-39	39-40
Guntur	40,000	40,000	50,000	81,437	95,355	80,000
East Godavary	..	..	..	100	200	100
West Godavary	..	..	1,000	600	672	500
Kistna	..	1,000	2,500	5,613	8,353	3,500
Nellore	..	..	..	900	..	..
Total for the State	40,000	41,000	53,500	88,650	1,04,580	84,100

Guntur and Chirala were the largest export centres. Exports by rail during 1936-38 ranged from 3.1 to 5.3 lakhs of railway maunds from Guntur and 2.9 to 4.2 lakhs of railway maunds from Chirala. The two main seasons of export are from February to May for Virginia and the other from June onwards for country tobacco. Exports to the United Kingdom and Netherlands comprised mainly the cheap tobacco of Guntur district especially the bottom leaf pickings of Virginia or country tobacco. There had also been a steady export to Burma, the quantity varying from 7,50,000 lbs. to 10,00,000 lbs. Other exports inside the country used to go to Bombay, Calcutta and Sind. These exports were worth Rs. 4.6 lakhs in 1937-38 and 3.4 lakhs in 1938-39. Export of snuff by sea was mainly to Bengal as it was the heaviest customer purchasing 2,20,000 lbs. of snuff worth Rs. 2,30,000 and this demand constitutes 90% of the exports by sea. Barring Burma, exports to other countries were negligible. In tobacco export trade, Madras with the produce of Andhra began to occupy 70% of the total Indian exports even by 1940. Exports to United Kingdom alone reached the peak of 35½ million pounds from Guntur in 1938-39. China and Belgium too became important customers. Chinese demand alone came to 4½ million pounds by 1940. The demand from the other parts of India came to be 32 to 40 million pounds per year from Guntur. Chewing tobacco used to be highly in demand in Cuddapah and Chittoor. Mustabad snuff had the largest markets in the Tamil districts of the South. Tobacco used in the form of cigarettes, cigars, cheyroots, chewing pan, snuff, hukka, normally used to come to the value of 6 crores of rupees per year and all this demand was met by the Andhra districts.

Prices paid to the cultivators for curing Virginia tobacco depended on the methods of marketing. The largest buyer is

the Indian Leaf Tobacco Development Company Ltd., which enters into a contract with the seller who is paid a fixed amount for a specific grade. The I. L. T. D. Company enters into contracts with curers from September onwards, supply them with the seedlings at a specific rate for thousand, the contractor shall use the farm solely for the purpose. Average price of Virginia ranges from Rs. 25 per maund and the top grade is Rs. 45. Prices of brown tobacco range from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per maund. In Cocanada, the average prices ranged from Rs. 22, Rs. 15 and Rs. 7 respectively for three different types. Flue curing in Guntur costs Rs. 30 per candy of 500 lbs. and for ordinary curing Rs. 15. In other places, the cost of curing is usually Rs. 8 per candy. Rates of grading will be from Rs. 2 to Rs. 8 per bale of 280 lbs. Better prices are offered for re-dried tobacco in England. The I. L. T. D. Company, enters into contract with the contractors, for purchasing Virginia tobacco and on account of better returns, there has been a considerable diversion of crops from foodgrains to tobacco in all these well-known tobacco tracts extending from Rajahmundry to Guntur. In Guntur tracts, capital advances alone were coming to Rs. 3 crores per year when they were stopped. There are organised markets at Guntur, Kistna, Ongole, Mangalagiri, Tadikonda, Parchur, Chilakalurpetta and Bezwada. There are decent facilities for stocking and storage only at Guntur. The exports go by rail and canals. The exports by railway came to 62 million pounds in 1935, 70 million pounds in 1936-37 and over 85 million pounds in 1938 comprising all varieties mainly of cigarettes, cheyroots, chewing pan, pipe and beedi. The exports by water were through the canals of the Godavary and the Kistna, the Buckingham Canal, Dummugudem and Vederanyam Canals which range over 10,000 tons every year, worth Rs. 65 lakhs from 1933 to 1938.

Out of 775 flue curing barns in India, 700 are in Madras alone, particularly concentrated in Guntur and Anaparti near Samalkota in East Godavary district.

Sugar Cane

The last war brought about a phenomenal increase in the cultivation of sugarcane particularly in Chittoor, where the acreage had gone up from 3,000 acres in 1942 to 12,050 acres in 1945. The yield of the cane in the Province was relatively high, next only to Bombay, pushing U.P., Bihar and Orissa behind.⁹

Besides such prominent commercial crops, there is a large-

scale cultivation of foodgrains too in both Circars and Ceded Districts. Agriculture is the only major occupation of the people as the whole of Andhra is still a very poorly industrialised area. Grains like paddy, cholum, cumbu, ragi, corra, horse-gram, chena, besides coconuts, groundnuts, fruits, oil seeds, pulses and cotton are grown in abundance. The total acreage under each of the crops used to be published from year to year in the Crop and Season Reports of the former Madras Presidency.

The irrigation facilities available in Circars, especially the great Anicuts of the Godavary and the Kistna and their canals are a great advantage to the cultivator compared to his companions in the Ceded Districts who are always at the mercy of the monsoon. Consequently, the economy of the Circars is an open contrast to that of the Ceded Districts. While the former is a surplus area and constitutes a granary of the State, the latter area is a chronic famine tract hungering for water and food.

The area under irrigation through different sources in Circars was larger than in the Ceded Districts, as could be seen from the Crop and Season Reports of Madras.

But the ryot had his own grievances in getting the water required for his crops. In all tail end villages, and upland fields, the irrigation water did not reach them and they were put to losses due to its inadequacy. Hence, some blocks of contiguous lands were left uncultivated and unproductive. Hence, many ryots especially in the two Godavaries and Kistna were anxious to remove their lands from the second crop zone. The existing piping system was found to be thoroughly useless as the ryots cut sluices in the night and feed their plants in transplantation season. In June, the need is greatest ; in July, if transplanted, the yield would be 2 bags less and in September it would be still poorer. The indifference of the Government to allow water from Government Canals to fields through pipes in time was causing great hardships to the ryots, the magnitude being serious in the delta districts of Godavary and Kistna.¹⁰ The average discharge from (a) Godavary Eastern and Central Delta, (b) Godavary Western, (c) Kistna Eastern, (d) Divi Project and Muniyeru Project were regular from 1919 onwards. But the conditions of duties on the Godavary were unsatisfactory. They ranged from 192 in June to 90, 82 and 85 in July, August and September respectively. Conditions on the Kistna Delta were a little better. Again, the water system on the

Divi Project too was unsatisfactory. Still, the total area of first and second crops in these three districts came to 2,30,000 acres to which must be added another 30,000 acres from the Divi Project. With the increase in population from 1891 to 1921, there was also an increase in the land under cultivation. The percentage increase in the two districts of Godavary and Kistna for 1911-21 were 7.7% and 7.3% respectively in population. The area under wet crops increased from 7,89,452 acres to 10,25,479 acres and drp crop from 6,85,844 acres to 7,86,038 acres.

In the agricultural operations both men and women were employed in all the districts except for certain purposes like transplanting, where mainly women only were employed, with a few men only to handle the bundles of seedlings, to add to the boundaries of fields and to clean the fields here and there. About 8 to 15 women workers were engaged per acre. In places like Dinusumarru, Singavaram in West Godavary, Vinjaram, Paranki, Pallivada, Kanur of Kistna, Vendra and Addanapalli of East Godavary where there was greater fear of submersion of seedlings, more workers were needed. Same was the case in Eleswaram, Vijeswaram, Burugupudi, Gumaladoddi of East Godavary, Machavaram, Kodusu, Malleswaram and Amaravati of Kistna. Again the number of workers required also depended on the number of hours worked ; and again this was dependent on the times at which the water supply was available. The cost of planting seedlings and preparing seed beds for paddy also varied from place to place. In Vinjaram, Kaikulur, Kautaram, Gudivada, Edupugallu of Bezwada, Ghatapurru of Ellore, Vadur of Tanuku, Achenta and Velagaleru of Narsapur, Jagannadhagiri of Vinukonda, Someswaram of Ramachandrapur, Gollalavalli and Nallamilli of Amlapur, where there was an early supply of water, the cost of seedlings was lower than in less favourable tracts. In Machavaram of Divi, Pallivada, Amaravati, Kaikalur and Ellaprolu of Bezwada, Mogellu of Bhimavaram, Lankala Koderu of Narasipur, Devaguptam of Amlapur where ryots were obliged to grow seedlings elsewhere or to wait till water was available, cost of seedlings was higher. Thus the cost of seedlings per acre varied with the agricultural establishments of different ryots, in different seasons, the canal water supply, availability of local water for seed beds and local agricultural practices.

In weeding operations of paddy fields, women labour was the cheapest and the largest. Reaping and heaping operations

followed on the heels of one another. The wages of the agricultural labour depended on the intensity of demand for labour in any year, in any season and the total supply of the labour as there was no organised wage-market. Upto 1926 the wages of women ranged between As. 6 to As. 12 and for men between As. 8 to As. 14. The rates varied from village to village according to local conditions. If all the fields were not watered at once, one field after another was taken up, as the local labour was sufficiently available at low rates of wages. The Panchamas or the Harijan cultivators had all the agricultural implements, carts, bullocks, ropes, ploughs, spades, crowbars, sickles, gunny-bags, etc. Gradually, the wages of labour showed a steady rise. According to the Khatas of ryots, the rise was from 119% in 1911 to 200% in 1928, and man's wages from 77.7% to 133.3%. Considering women and men labourers to be equal the wage increased from 105.5% to 166.6%.¹¹ Compared to this the wages of casual unskilled labour in agriculture in Ceded Districts was not so high as could be seen from the figures below :

The average wage for Agricultural labour in the Ceded Districts from 1921 to 1936 were as follows :

		1921 per day	1926 per day	1931 per day	1936 per day
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Men	..	0 7 1	0 6 5	0 5 3	0 4 3
Women	..	0 5 1	0 4 1	0 7 5	0 2 10

While the average wages of skilled and unskilled labour in Ceded Districts were as follows :

Skilled Labour¹²

District	1921 Rs. a. p.	1926 Rs. a. p.	1931 Rs. a. p.	1936 Rs. a. p.
Anantapur	0 10 3	0 11 1	0 12 10	0 9 2
Bellary	0 10 0	0 13 5	0 8 7	0 9 11
Cuddapah	1 3 0	0 14 11	0 15 3	0 11 8
Kurnool	1 4 0	1 0 2	0 14 5	1 0 5
Chittoor	0 12 0	0 11 9	0 15 5	0 9 4

Wages of Unskilled Agricultural Labour in Ceded Districts

District	Persons	1921			1926			1931			1936		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Anantapur	Men	0	5	11	0	4	2	0	4	7	0	3	0
	Women	0	5	7	0	3	2	0	3	3	0	2	2
Bellary	Men	0	5	1	0	4	7	0	3	6	0	3	3
	Women	0	4	4	0	3	4	0	2	3	0	2	2
Cuddapah	Men	0	8	2	0	6	6	0	5	2	0	3	9
	Women	0	7	4	0	5	2	0	3	10	0	3	0
Kurnool	Men	0	8	1	0	5	11	0	4	2	0	3	7
	Women	0	4	0	0	4	9	0	3	1	0	2	8
Chittoor	Men	0	5	8	0	5	0	0	4	8	0	3	7
	Women	0	4	7	0	3	7	0	3	7	0	2	9

In Bellary, the rates of wages paid to the family workers was based on wages paid to permanent servants of the total human labour, the hired labour accounted from 93½%-66-2/3% in wet and dry cases respectively. The proportion of hired bullock labour to farm bullock labour was high in wet lands and very low in dry lands, 75% of the total bullock labour in the former was hired while it was only 1½% in the latter. 90½% of the human labour employed in a wet holding was hired while employment of hired labour amounted to 61¾% in a dry holding and the utilisation of home labour was greater in case of dry holdings, 38½% than in case of holdings of wet land at 9½%. Again, the percentage of bullock labour indicated that about 85% and 15% were the hired and home bullock labour in the wet holdings while the corresponding percentages in a dry holding were 1½% and 98½% respectively.¹³

Wages were paid partly in cash and partly in kind for different kinds of agricultural work. For plucking chillies, 1 vis was paid for every maund of chillies in Razole Taluk of East Godavary. For cotton it varied from 3 seers for each 24 seers plucked in Bellary or 1/16th share in East Godavary. For groundnuts the shares differed according to crop 1 : 9 ; 1 : 12 ;

$\frac{1}{2} : \frac{1}{2}$, if there was a crop failure. Some times cash wages of As. 1 to As. 2 for each four seers were given.¹⁴

In Vizagapatam wages were paid in cash, in Palkonda and Sarvasidhi varying from As. 8 to Re. 1 for a male and As. 6 to As. 8 for a female. The wages for harvesting were 3 to 4 kunchams (a Madras measure) of paddy. In dry 2taluks of Godavary district, Kistna and Guntur As. 12 and As. 10 and for harvesting and thrashing 3 to 4 kunchams of paddy were paid. In the deltaic village in these districts, wages went up at one time from Rs. 1 to Rs. 2 a day. However they fell down to Rs. 1 for male and As. 12 for female and for weeding the rates were As. 8 to As. 6. In dry villages in Kavali taluk wages were paid usually in kind. The rates for weeding were $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers, paddy or $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers of hard grain as ragi and for transplanting $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers of paddy without any midday meals. Of late the contract system for transplantation of paddy lands was increasingly coming into vogue, the rate being 70. seers per acre. But, at the time of reaping and harvesting with one midday meal labourers were paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers of paddy or 2 seers of ragi, while at the time of thrashing 7 seers of paddy or $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers of ragi were paid. The seasonal labourers were paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 tooms per month with two meals and 5 tooms as makta at the end of the year in Nellore. Without meals, the customary seasonal labourers were paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ tooms per month and 10 tooms at the end of the year. In the Ceded Districts, wages in kind were predominant. In Kalyandrug taluk, 2 seers and $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers of jonna or korra were the rates, for the males and females, though in taluks like Madanapalli rates of $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers to $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers for a male and $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers to 2 seers for a female were prevalent. If wages were paid in cash at the wish of the labourers they were As. 6, As. 5 and for a boy As. 3. The wages were usually paid in cash except for harvesting, reaping and transplanting. However in some villages in the taluk, the rates were As. 8 and As. 6 in cash, $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers and 2 seers in kind per day and at the time of the harvest 3 to 5 seers. Before the war in the dry taluks, the wages paid in forms of cash were As. 0-2-6 for male and As. 2 for a female and As. 0-1-0 to As. 0-1-6, to a boy.¹⁵

In the Ceded Districts cultivation was mostly of dry crops, while in Circars, it was the reverse and wet cultivation commanded a majority. Hence the expenses on agricultural labour in the Deltas showed a steady increase for some years as shown below :

	Casual Labour	Permanent Labour
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Scheme Report for the Godavary, 1899	6 8 0	—
2. Scheme Report for Kistna	6 4 0	—
3. Edupugalli-khatta 1924-28	21 8 0	26 5 4
4. Juguvaram-khatta 1921-28	12 10 0	15 5 5
5. Bhimadole-khatta 1921-28	15 11 11	26 11 8
6. Kottapeta khatta 1921-28	23 15 10	—
7. Lankala Koderu 1921-28	17 5 6	—
8. Average for the Khatta Accounts	18 2 6	—
9. Estimates of the Economic Enquiry Committee Report	21 2 6	—

There was also a steady increase in agricultural prices (a) due to shortage of agricultural products, (b) an increase in the demand for those commodities, (c) an increase in the cost of production, (d) the development of the Railways and other communications in India, (e) improvement in general banking facilities, (f) an increase in the volume of circulating media and development of credit.¹⁶ This effect of rise in prices on the Agricultural population became a matter of serious controversy, some holding that it would make them prosperous and others arguing equally vehemently, that it would render them more profligate.¹⁷

After the first world war, the agricultural prices and rents soared high, but by 1930 the recession in prices came to affect very badly the agrarian well-being all over the country and the situation to some extent was saved by England going off the gold standard. But the settlement officers had taken very favourable prices as the basis for the fixation of land assessment, with the result, that they become too excessive. Taking even the figures of Godavary Chamber of Commerce, the price of paddy dropped from Rs. 8-4-11 in 1921 to Rs. 6-5-8 in 1929. But Government fixed the water rates at a high level of Rs. 6-4, Rs. 4-3 and Rs. 3-2 per acre according to the quality and duration of irrigation.¹⁸ The cultivation expenses naturally rose high.

On all holdings of 5 acres and more, ryots had 'Palerus' (Permanent agricultural labour) to assist them in supervision of agricultural operations in times of sowing, reaping, weeding, guarding against thefts, etc. A paleru was to look after the

agricultural operations and cattle, keep the cattle shed in order, guard the haystacks and agricultural implements, bring fodder for cattle and stay in the farm with the cattle looking after the fields. He was paid in grain besides free advances for marriages, for repayment of old loans, repairs to houses, etc., repaid in labour or free of interest. In addition he was given a pair of chappals, an upper cloth, a chaddar annually, besides once or twice a day meals with small presents on festive occasions, and 1½ to 3 candies of paddy worth Rs. 100 to Rs. 180 per annum. The expenses of maintaining 'Palerus' was increasing of late. The Khatta accounts of ryots revealed various items of expenditure like (a) maintenance of Palerus, (b) agricultural implements, (c) squaring and levelling fields, (d) P.W.D. 'Mamools' (in other words, bribes for water), (e) purchase of seeds and seedlings, (f) manuring, (g) bullocks, etc.

Manuring in the Circars was done by 'patimannu' (black-soil), goat and sheep manure, cattle dung and stable refuse, caster cake, groundnut cake and sulphate of ammonia.

Cost of the service of the cattle depended on the extent of land cultivated, the number of working days, the crops raised, the amount of fodder and other seedlings raised as the bye-products of the crop produced together with the breed, strength of the animals used, etc.¹⁹ The Royal Commission on Agriculture pointed out the relation between crop production and cattle breeding at length.²⁰

More than the delta districts, Guntur was known for its cattle wealth throughout all the nine taluks of Guntur, Tenali, Baptala, Repalle, Ongole, Sathanapalli Narasaraopeta, Vennikonta and Palnad. In Tenali, Repalle, Baptala, more than 90% of the population lived in villages. Towns like Guntur and Tenali formed the main consuming centres for the milk and milk products produced in the neighbouring villages. There were a number of pastures for grazing of cattle in the taluks of Guntur as below :

Grazing Area in Guntur, 1927

Taluk	Estimated grazing land in acres	Taluk	Estimated grazing land in acres
Ongole	77,159	Guntur	35,328
Vinukonda	1,28,002	Repalle	40,906
Sathanapalle	1,38,659	Baptala	58,559
Palnad	2,53,480	Tenali	11,050
Narasaraopeta	90,805		

Thus the total grazing area was 8,37,948 acres. If the average under fodder crop was added to it, there would be 1.4 animals for every acre of grazing land and fodder crops grown.²¹ Ongole taluks with the exception of Palnad had a higher percentage of buffaloes than other taluks. The ghee and butter producing taluks of Guntur, Tenali, Baptala, Sathanapalle, Narasaraopeta possessed a higher percentage of buffaloes than other taluks. One peculiar feature was the smallness of the he-buffallow. As the Agricultural Commission said, the factors affecting the number of female buffaloes were the local demand for milk and ghee and where there was shortage of bullocks, the buffaloes were required to suppliment the progeny of the cow.

During the crop season, dry cows, buffaloes, heifers and other young stock were sent in charge of lambadies for grazing in forests in Palnad, Sathanapalle, Vinukonda, paying annas four per head of cattle per month. Besides this, the ryots usually pay Re. 1 grazing fee and Rs. 4 penning fee per month for 100 cattle to the Forest Department.²²

The Guntur cattle were one of the best breeds in India, valuable both for milk and work. Cattle were docile, bullocks were heavy and powerful and were suitable for heavy ploughing and cart-work. Cows were good milkers. The Ongole breed was exported even to outside India like tropical America, Philippines and East Indies. There were only two cattle breeding stations in Madras, one at Hosur and the other at Guntur. There was one at Chintaladevi, but it was closed in 1931 as a measure of economy.

The Hosur cattle farm acquired 25 Ongole cows in 1925, but they did not survive there. The Guntur experimental station was opened in 1923 to improve the milking capacity of the local buffaloes. After the closure of the Chintaladevi Farm, Research Station was started near a village 5 miles from Guntur, standing on a farm of 1,616 acres of pasture and 83 acres of arable land. In 1935-39, 60 acres grass land yielded 27,150 lbs. of hay, the average yield per acre being 452 lbs. Regular cattle shows used to be held in Ongole from 1858 to 1871 during which period Rs. 18,000 were distributed as prizes and again from 1904. In 1940, a cattle show was held at Govada in Repalle Taluk. In 1939, the provincial Live Stock Board was constituted to co-ordinate and encourage work on cattle breeding. The Board sanctioned Rs. 50,000 for opening a new farm for Ongole cattle in Guntur district. From the survey conducted it

was observed, "it is reasonable to conclude that the one important factor contributing to the decline of the Ongole cattle is the indifference of the Government besides the discontinuation of the Ongole cattle show, the embargo on the export of Ongole cattle, the closing down of the Chintala-devi Farm, the levy of revenue on private pasture and the unhelpful attitude of the forest department towards the forest grazing in the tracks".²³ There was a good trade in Guntur cattle in Circars, Ceded Districts, Central Provinces and the Nizam's Dominions. The price of a bull-calf, 1 year-old, varied from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 and 2 year-old from Rs. 80 to Rs. 200. All the Railway Stations from Tenali and Nellore booked the cattle in wagons.

Guntur was also the largest producer of ghee in the Madras Presidency. Its productivity used to be about 12%. There was a large volume of trade in ghee between Guntur, Calcutta, Kharagpur, Adra and Pulia in Bihar. In 1935-36, 8,800 maunds of ghee was exported to Calcutta, 7,738 maunds to Kharagpur, Pulia 338 maunds and 1,398 maunds to Adra. Tenali and Repalle taluks were served by many canals in addition to railways and roads with a cheap freight. Buses also conveyed a small quantity. But the ghee and dairy industry was not put on a sound commercial basis, though Guntur could satisfy all the ideal conditions required for a good dairy industry laid down by Dr. Wright,²⁴ viz., (a) it should meet the food requirements of the great mass of the people, (b) it should be designed to suit the social conditions of production, collection and transport, and (c) it should fit into the general economy of the country.

The agriculturist in Guntur had a better income due to his cattle than the farmers in other districts. But the unorganised cattle and ghee trade benefitted the entrepreneurs and the middlemen than the actual cultivators. The trade in Guntur cattle between Central Provinces and Guntur was in the hands of Nellore Reddis and dealers of Kurnool. Two big families, the 'Veyyavulu' and the 'Bezwada' specialised in cattle financing. They engaged a number of Sardars to carry the cattle from place to place paying them a regular wage and commission. In the importing area, the cattle were sold at 1/3 price above the market rate. Annually 10,000 young bulls were taken for sale in Kurnool and Ceded Districts. A trip to and from Ceded Districts usually takes six months. Their accounts were settled between the two families and their agents once in three years.

The price of an average young bull, varies from Rs. 150 to Rs. 300. There were cattle markets at Tiruvattayur, Ongole, where a number of brokers belonging to Madras and Ongole normally participated in the transactions, their commission varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 for sale.

The average holding of a ryot in Guntur was 5 acres, with a pair of bullocks, one or two cows or at least one buffalo, and his income would be about Rs. 400 per annum, or Rs. 30 per month. The average size of the family was 4 to 6 members. In the areas under tanks, the average holdings came to 4 to 5 acres of dry land on lease. With a pair of work cattle and a she-buffalo, the monthly income of the family often came to Rs. 20. In the dry black soils, the average holdings were of 8 acres, a pair of bullocks and livelihood was dependent on seasonal rains. In dry land soils, the average size of the holding was 12 acres with average income per annum per acre coming to Rs. 10.

The agricultural holdings in the deltas of Godavary and Kistna were smaller. Considerable congestion existed in East and West Godavary. In Ramachandrapur and Divi, the average holdings per patta was 3 acres. In Razole and Narsapur it was 4 acres. In Bezwada, Bandar, Gudivada and Kaikalur it was 6 to 7 acres. The important classes that held lands in these districts were the Brahmins, the Kapus, Telagas, Kshatriyas, and Kammas, both men and women.

The Economic Enquiry Committee felt after investigating into the conditions of the agriculturists in the deltas, the settlement officers did not take into account the expenditure under agricultural implements, sickles, knives, gunny bags, carts, annual repairs to various implements and depreciation, purchase value of bullocks, carts, he-buffaloes, etc., with the result the actual assessment increased in incidence very much. The enhancement was 25% in Kistna delta, 29% in uplands of Godavary, 36% in uplands of Divi and Kistna which ruined the cultivators and involved them in heavy debts. Again the settlement officers also ignored the expenditure on (a) cleaning, repairing, ploughing the seed beds, (b) parting, spreading manures to seed bed, (c) watering the seed bed, (d) quarrying and levelling, (e) 'Bodi' (water sluices) and removing silt from irrigation channels, (f) ploughing or *Dammu*, (g) carting and spreading manure, (h) uprooting and conveying the seedlings, (i) watching and watering the crops, (j) preparing the thrashing floor, (k) 'mamools' (usual presents) to artisans, (l) to Public Works

Department, (m) preparation of hay stacks and granaries.²⁵ They also did not take into consideration the debts of the agriculturists, the interest and repayment they have to make annually. With the result, very poor ryots whose assets were not worth more than Rs. 100 were found heavily indebted. The proportion of the property to be set aside for liquidation of old debts decreased, as the property increased.²⁶

Percentage of Population involved in Debt in the Godavary and the Kistna by 1930

Property value	Kistna	W. Godavary	E. Godavary
Below Rs. 500	55.77	69.31	91.84
Rs. 500-1,000	38.22	43.44	44.39
Rs. 1,000-5,000	25.97	26.15	27.30
Rs. 5,000-10,000	19.49	21.99	22.58
Rs. 10,000-20,000	16.82	18.28	18.78
Rs. 20,000 and more	14.63	19.48	23.82

Thus, it was clear that smaller ryots were more heavily involved in debt than the richer ryots since their debts absorbed a greater portion of their assets than those of the latter. Ryots in the Kistna district were less involved in debt than those in the two Godavary districts. Again, the burden of debt bore less heavily on the West Godavary ryots than on the East Godavary ryots. The agricultural indebtedness prior to Mr. Darling's inquiry in 1924 and savage debt per indebted family is given in the table hereunder :

(1) Mr. Darling's Inquiry (1924)	Average debt for indebted family	Rs.	463
(2) Mr. Thornburn's Inquiry (1896)	"	"	562
(3) Mr. Jack for Faradpur Dist. (1907)	"	"	121
(4) Mysore Inquiry in 1919	"	"	273
(5) Present Enquiry into Kistna (1930)	"	"	1,070
(6) West Godavary Inquiry (1930)	"	"	1,236
(7) East Godavary Inquiry (1930)	"	"	925

The poorest ryots were those who were most heavily indebted even according to these inquiries. The average extent of land owned by them was not much as shown below :

*Kistna District**Average extent of land owned by each ryot and his debt in 1930*

Value of property	Dry (Acres)	Wet (Acres)	Total Extent	Debt (Rs.)
Ryots having less than 500	1.50	0.20	1.70	237
501 to 1,000	2.90	0.65	3.55	137
1,001 to 5,000	3.00	2.00	5.60	541
5,001 to 10,000	5.42	6.08	11.50	193
10,001 to 20,000	6.05	11.39	17.44	138
20,001 and more	7.34	27.15	34.49	95
District average	3.76	5.14	8.90	1,334

West Godavary

Property worth 500	1.00	0.25	1.25	275
501 to 1,000	1.16	0.82	1.98	281
1,001 to 5,000	2.84	2.26	5.10	1,307
5,001 to 10,000	3.13	5.96	9.09	462
10,001 to 20,000	6.33	33.55	39.90	182
20,001 and more				
District average	2.98	5.64	8.62	2,886

In view of these circumstances, the Economic Enquiry Committee came to the conclusion that income from land was not adequate for the maintenance of the farmer and his family. The Settlement Officers "fallaciously argue that it would be incorrect to argue from the borrowings for cultivation expenses that agriculture was unprofitable," but the Committee explained that they did not pause to think about the 9% to 10% of the debt due to the family expenses in deltas and upland taluks, 1% for payment of kists, 3% for payment of miscellaneous purposes and 8 or 6% for house building.²⁷ The 75% of the debts incurred were usually for family expenses. If agriculture was a profitable occupation for the majority of the poorer ryots then there was no need for them to borrow for their living, for repairing their houses and paying their kists. They borrowed because it was not. The rates of interest varied from 12% to 18% in the deltas and from 18% to 36%. Occasionally they had to pay even as high rates as 50% to 150% per annum. In the case of the poor ryots the rates of interest at which they borrowed exercised an incredible burden. The rates of interest varied with the money-lenders also. If he was a ryot, the rate was never more than 18%, but, if he was a merchant interested in

'Namula' or 'Jatti', the interest was never less than 50%. If he was a marwari the rate of interest was 30% compound interest. In the case of upland ryots, the rate was always about 12% and was often 50% to 100%, compound interest. Many of the ryots were obliged to get loans by means of 'Namula' or 'Jatti' or by both systems. Vysyas gave fairly long-term credit, the term being never less than one year.²⁸

From the findings of the Economic Enquiry Committee, the debt per acre was found to be as follows :

Consolidated Statement of 3 Districts—Debt Per Acre

District	No. of ryots	Extent of land owned	Total debt	Debt per acre
Kistna	77	1624.19 acres	Rs. 2,18,320	Rs. 134 6 11
West Godavary	305	5182.65 ,,	6,67,881	128 13 9
East Godavary	181	2662.91 ,,	2,28,290	85 11 8
Average	563	9469.75 ,,	11,14,491	117 11 0

On this average debt of Rs. 117-3-0 for each ryot out of 503 taken at an interest of 12%, the interest charge on an acre came to Rs. 14 to Rs. 20 which also must be added towards expenses of cultivation.

Different estimates of agricultural debt in Madras were prepared at different times by different authorities like Sir Frederick Nicholson in 1892, when he was deputed to investigate the possibility of establishing agriculture or other land mortgage banks, the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee in 1930, Mr. W. R. S. Satyanathan, I.C.S., in 1936 and Dr. B. V. Narayanswamy Naidu in 1945. Mr. Nicholson estimated the agricultural debt in the beginning of the harvest at Rs. 45 crores, the Banking Enquiry Committee at Rs. 150 crores, Mr. Satyanathan at Rs. 200 crores in 1935 and according to Dr. Naidu it should have been Rs. 271.9 crores, while in 1945 it was only Rs. 217.7 crores.

According to Mr. Satyanathan's report from an analysis of results of 144 villages investigated into, the *per capita* debt was estimated at Rs. 42 and for family Rs. 194, debt for acre of occupied land at Rs. 63 and debt for every rupee of assessment at Rs. 21. According to Dr. Narayanaswamy's report in 1945, debt *per capita* was Rs. 40.8 (51.0), debt for family Rs. 255.5 (318.8), debt per acre of occupied area Rs. 53.8 (66.6) and debt for rupee assessment Rs. 22.5 (28.2), (the figures in brackets are for 1939). But unfortunately, there was no estimate of rural

debt made out for Andhra Districts alone.

According to the Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee report, the debt of an agriculturist varied from Rs. 62 in Northern Circars, Rs. 23 in Ceded Districts per acre on an average.²⁹ These were the results of the exhaustive investigations by the Tahasildars and special investigators appointed for this purpose. (See for details the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Report.)

Even Mr. Satyanathan's enquiry did not reveal any better picture. Assuming the rural population to be 34 millions in the Presidency in 1933-34, he arrived at a gross income of Rs. 23-8-0 per head on the crops raised ; the net income was to be arrived at by subtracting from the gross value of the produce the cost of cultivation, land revenue, interest payments and so on. The cultivation expenses accounted for 40% of the yield. If out of a yield of Rs. 80 crores, Rs. 42 crores were taken out as cultivation expenses, Rs. 8 crores as kist, then Rs. 40 crores were left to support the 34 million population. Even if it was assumed no interest was paid on debts the average *per capita* income came to Rs. 11-12-0 in 1933-34.³⁰ According to Dr. Narayanaswamy's evidence, the *per capita* income was still lower and was estimated to be Rs. 7-8-0 per annum. The average ryot was forced to live squalid, ill-fed, poorly clothed, wretchedly housed and with hardly any surplus for those extra amenities which make life worth living.³¹

The problem of rural poverty and debt was there for centuries. It was not a fact unnoticed by any body. The Agricultural Commission said, "No one we trust desires to witness a continuation of a system under which people are born in debt, live in debt, die in debt, passing their burden to those who follow. That there is a large number of hopelessly insolvent debtors in the rural areas is generally admitted, and we cannot admit as making for health in the body politic, that they should be allowed to remain without hope and help."³² Dr. Harold H. Mann, a former Director of Agriculture in Bombay, said, "Little can be done on an extensive scale unless the Government and the social reformers recognize that the secret of the whole prosperity of the agricultural population was the filling of their stomach. An empty stomach was the greatest obstacle to the progress of India."³³ A prominent M.P. of England who toured this country in 1928 came to the same conclusion when he said, "the trouble in India is stomach trouble—basically, primarily."³⁴

Another English writer said, "We have given the ryots, security from death by violence, but we have increased his danger of death by starvation."³⁵ Though there were attempts made to make the ryot the author of his misfortunes in spite of the universality of the problem, there were conscientious observers who realised he was not to blame. Speaking of the agricultural methods in Madras, Mr. Morrison said, "to those who are sceptical about the methods adopted, I can say in parts of the presidency cultivation by means of neatness, thoroughness and profitableness cannot be excelled by the best gardeners or the best farmers in any other part of the world."³⁶ Even the Agricultural Commission certifies, "the cultivation of rice in the deltas has reached a marked degree of perfection and the wisdom of many agricultural proverbs stands unchanged by modern research."³⁷ Then why is the peasant constantly in debt? The causes were many and some of them were already discussed. Some other causes are the lack of adequate subsidiary occupations, (b) the low *per capita* income, (c) the pests and diseases that destroy his crop very often, (d) bad seasons, (e) inadequate irrigation facilities, (f) lack of understanding of his problem on the part of the Government, (g) litigation, (h) fragmentation of holdings, (i) and lack of suitable financing agencies to help him at the time of agricultural operations. The fall in agricultural prices towards 1930 still further accentuated the distress. The population "living on agriculture as a whole increased its standard of living during the years of affluence and is now suffering by the reaction brought about by the low prices of agricultural produce. The classes who invested in lands are the worst sufferers. . . . The economic condition of the cultivator cannot be said to be satisfactory. His principal difficulty is to find ready money. The lands of many ryots are mortgaged, but the high price of gold has helped them to discharge obligations".³⁸

What the Andhra cultivator always needs is easy credit to finance his agricultural operations, meet cultivation expenses, pay rents and to meet his domestic expenditure. As early as 1892, Mr. Nicholson enquired into the possibility of introducing Land Mortgage Banks in the Madras Presidency and submitted a very valuable report.³⁹ He said, "the load of debt borne by the ryot is heavy. Its interest is high and it has been incurred with a minimum possible profit. What is required is small locally worked village institutions because they would satisfy

the postulates of proximity, security, facility, excite local confidence and consequently draw on local capital, work cheaply, almost gratuitously and thus provide cheap credit, influence borrowers towards the true use of credit and watch the utilisation of loans in accordance with contract, excessive educative influence in matters of thrift and self-help and develop high forces both of individual capacity, public life and national character.”⁴⁰

There are always certain limitations to the provision of agricultural credit by the State. The Agricultural Improvements Loans Act, passed in 1884, after the report of the Agricultural Ryots Commission Enquiry, 1875, authorised granting of loans to cultivators for purchasing seeds, implements, etc. But, this was useful only to ryots who could give substantial security. The majority of ryots had to depend on the indigenous money-lenders because no loan was given under the Land Improvement Act, unless the security offered was equal to the debt applied for and had to be repaid in two years. Government considered the advisability of giving takkavi loans through co-operative societies, but, after some consideration, they gave up the proposals. The Co-operative Societies Act was passed in 1904 with a view to providing cheap and easy credit to cultivators.

The Agricultural Commission expressed the conviction that the greater hope or the salvation of the rural masses from the crushing burden of debt rests in the growth and speed of a healthy and well-organised co-operative movement based upon the careful education and systematic training of the villages. Co-operative credit provides the only satisfactory means for financing agriculture on sound lines.⁴¹ The McLagan Committee recommended the starting of multi-purpose societies to solve the problems of the agriculturists. The Central Banking Committee felt that provision of easy credit alone is not adequate, but something more should be done to assist the cultivators. It also wanted (i) reviewing the existing experiments in production, (ii) lowering the burdens of taxation, (iii) Fiscal Organisations of the country and assistance to agriculturists by tariffs, (iv) the economic organization of the industry and in particular the development among farmers of methods of purchase and sale of co-operative insurance, (v) instituting of schemes for the improvement of lands, livestock, crops, elimination of pests and animals' diseases, (vi) organising the transport system

of the country with due regard to the interest of the agriculture and establishing a system of sound general education besides agricultural research.⁴²

Though the recommendations of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee were praiseworthy and absolutely essential, the foremost of the needs of the agriculturist was easy credit. Some agricultural co-operative societies were formed by 1916 in which the majority of members live by agriculture. These societies were naturally founded in villages.⁴³ Loans were given in Circars to ryots for a year for purposes of cultivation, purchase of seed, manure, payment of Government kist, holding of produce for a favourable period, etc.⁴⁴ About 13,000 credit societies lent out Rs. 137 lakhs in 1928-29, to 6,91,000 members for agricultural needs and marketing of their produce.⁴⁵

Agricultural marketing in this province as a whole or in the Andhra Districts did not follow any set pattern.

For the smaller ryots with two to three acres, the problem of marketing was not acute. Other cultivators with more land usually undertake cultivation by loans taken from the richer ryots or money-lenders and have to pay them back at the time of harvest either in cash or kind. 50% to 60% of the ryots give away the crop. Conditions of payment in kind become very hard to the cultivator as the creditor measures extra for charity, deity, and takes much more than his due.⁴⁶

In the Kistna the common habit is for the ryots to take their paddy to Ellore by carts and sell it to the merchants either on cash or weekly credit. Sometimes they sell it to a commission agent who makes profit both ways.

There are several weekly fairs held all over Andhra as in Ambajipeta, Pithapuram, Samalkota in East Godavary, Palmaner in Chittoor, etc., where a lot of business is transacted. Due to lack of proper marketing organization some of the valuable crops like groundnut too have to be sold at the harvest time when there is a glut in the market and prices are depressed. If there are adequate co-operative marketing agencies, which can help him to store his crop by receiving an advance to tide over his immediate needs and to dispose it off at a favourable price it would no doubt do him a great service. Similarly, for cotton, the important marketing centres are Bellary, Adoni and Nandyala in Ceded Districts. The Adoni cotton market was vividly described in the Central Cotton Committee Report of 1927. According to it, very large advances were taken by the

ryots under the capital domestic expenses, from the merchants, with the result they were pursued from place to place till they repaid the debt. The Adoni merchants also take their cotton to Bellary and try to sell it through dalals who take it and pay something to the ryots till their produce is sold. There exists a keen rivalry among these 'Dalals' who dominate the market and hence it is not often possible for them to take loans from the Imperial Bank (the present State Bank) as they cannot get the second signature required. The existence of the '*dalal system*' was condemned as a serious defect by the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee which had suggested the starting of co-operative godowns and warehouses to which the ryot could carry his goods and take light advances by pledging them. The Committee felt there was considerable scope for aiding agricultural commodities like tobacco, cotton, groundnuts, oilseeds, copra, ginger, and turmeric.⁴⁷

In spite of all these studied recommendations, agricultural marketing did not make much headway. This need not also be anticipated when the co-operative societies have not met with any success in their primary object of providing cheap and facile credit to the cultivators.

"One of the most difficult problems with which the small agriculturist is faced everywhere is to obtain the money which is necessary for his operations at a reasonable rate of interest."⁴⁸ As Nicholson puts it, "provision of credit to the agriculturist is a universal problem. The lesson of universal agrarian history is that an essential of agriculture is credit. Neither the nature of the land tenures nor the position of agriculture affects the one great fact that agriculturist must borrow. This necessity is due to the fact that an agriculturist's capital is locked up in his lands and stock. Hence credit is not necessarily objectionable nor is borrowing a sign of weakness."⁴⁹ "Ideally of course he should have accumulated savings. Actually, as a rule, he has none. This is because he is too poor to save."⁵⁰ An experiment in co-operative land cultivation was made in 1938 when 324 societies took lands from Government and leased them to members for purposes of cultivation. These were concentrated in East Godavary, West Godavary, the Kistna and Guntur Districts taking 'lankas' in the delta districts. This was one of the biggest experiments in joint cultivation by the members of the scheduled castes in East Godavary. This undertaking taken by the Christian Co-operative Central Bank resulted in a costly

failure of 8 societies included in the scheme and Rs. 1.21 lakhs to the Christian Central Bank which was itself under liquidation.⁵¹ There were some fishermen societies started in Kurnool and Nellore, hill-tribes societies in East Godavary and one in Kurnool; 2 milk supply societies, one each in Ellore and Nellore were opened by 1940, and worked with a minor profit. There were also some fruit societies as in Kodur where the sales were of Rs. 31,092, commission earned Rs. 3,819, net profits Rs. 2,346 and loans issued Rs. 62,025 in 1938-39.

But, the co-operative credit societies could not go far to meet the demands of the agriculturists, in spite of all the help given to them by Government. In 1912, the Act was amended and the administration was kept in charge of an independent officer called the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. The accounts of the Societies were freely audited and official guidance and assistance were given whenever required as everybody who was concerned with the problem had recommended to make credit the cornerstone of the whole co-operative movement.⁵² Sir Horace Plunket said, "I have always regarded credit as the most educational form of co-operation for backward rural communities when the principle and system of co-operation has to be introduced into their industry, business and life".⁵³ The powers of the indigenous money-lender over the agriculturist were sought to be broken as economic freedom is a condition precedent to the progress and to the Indian cultivator no freedom is possible till the power of the money-lender is broken.⁵⁴ The Agricultural Commission also exhorted the provincial governments stating, "if the rural community is to be contented, happy and prosperous, local governments must regard the co-operative movement as deserving the encouragement which lies within their power to give."⁵⁵ For some time the co-operative department came to be known as the bank department in certain places.⁵⁶ The whole country followed the continental precedent of not undertaking non-credit operations until the credit societies had been fairly established.⁵⁷ Even the agricultural commission sympathised with this position and said, "the movement has not yet reached a stage at which it can undertake on an exhaustive scale, any activities other than credit."⁵⁸

On account of this slow progress of the co-operative movement, the grip of the indigenous money-lenders over the peasant could not be relaxed. Several witnesses before the Provincial

Banking Enquiry Committee, had very clearly pointed out this difficulty both in their oral and written evidence. Even the land Mortgage Banks that have been started could not provide a great relief. In Vizagapatam, cultivators continued to borrow from Sahukars at 15% to 25% compound interest on crop security which often led to their liquidation.⁵⁹ Though there are co-operative banks, the peasants are not capable of utilising them because of their inability to liquidate old debts, to repay in regular instalments, in spite of low interest rates, the smallness of the amount at the disposal of the rural Credit Societies which cannot satisfactorily meet the needs of all cultivators and their preference to lend to cultivators with better securities than to the poor and the needy.⁶⁰ "In Nellore more agricultural financing is done by Nattukotta Chettis, Marwaries and other private money-lenders than by co-operative societies."⁶¹ "In Bezwada, the agriculturists borrow for all purposes, for maintenance, dress, ceremonies, education of children, marriages and funerals at 12% from Marwaries pledging jewellery and silverware or from private merchants mortgaging lands and houses. Taxation is very heavy, crops fail, Tahsildars give the Ryot no remission. He does not know how to market his produce. The middleman plays the usual mischief. He is not taught thrift and he has nothing to save."⁶² In Cuddapah, the rates of interest from the money-lenders vary from 9% to 12% on cash and 5% on kind.⁶³ In Berhampore, the rates of interest for cultivator range from 15 to 18%.⁶⁴ In Polavaram, the rates of interest vary from Rs. 2-8-0 to 100%. The cultivators do not approach the co-operative societies or land mortgage banks.⁶⁵ In Rajahmundry, ryots owning 10 to 15 acres do not need to borrow except in a failure of monsoon. If they borrow, they borrow from a bigger ryot.⁶⁶ In Guntur, the ryots borrow from sahukars, private money-lenders or marwaries.⁶⁷ Every town sprinkled with a few marwari shops shows the bankruptcy of the State, inactivity and the failure of the co-operative movement. They are like the big spots of disease in the body politic which corrode and consume the society into its vital nerve centres. Anantapur is known for its large numbers of co-operative institutions, yet there is never adequate money to give loans to the needy agriculturists. In Cocanada, the agriculturists spend their own money at the time of cultivation selling the produce of the previous year. Only the poor ryots borrow from richer ryots at 12% and from money-lenders at 12% to

18% pledging jewels.⁶⁸ This overwhelming evidence brought home the fact that private money-lending alone had been primarily responsible for financing agriculture, and not Co-operative Credit Societies. Like its predecessor, the Agricultural Loans Improvements Act, the Co-operative Societies Act also failed to yield satisfactory results in spite of the very pious intentions of the authors who framed it on the recommendations of the Committee presided by Sir Edward Low, in 1890. The Committee on co-operation remarked there are 3 distinctive phases in the development of co-operation, (i) the period of 1904-18, was one of slow growth, (ii) 1918-30, of steady rise in agricultural prices and increased prosperity, (iii) 1930-37, the world-wide depression leading to the liquidation of many banks.⁶⁹ For this unsatisfactory growth and working of the co-operative societies, several apologies were offered from time to time. According to the Committee on co-operation in Madras, "lack of suitable personnel to run co-operative institutions, general illiteracy of the mass of population, the absence of an efficient machinery to propagate the practising principles of co-operation, to assess the creditworthiness of the peasant, to arrange for the prompt supply of credit to the people and to make prompt recoveries, the backward economic condition of the rural masses, the absence of select membership in these societies, lack of proper leadership in villages and a host of other causes are responsible for their slow and unsatisfactory working."⁷⁰ According to the Agricultural Commission, for these disquieting conditions of the co-operative movement there are several causes of which the lack of training and understanding of co-operative principles is the most important. The democratic principle is not so potent a force in checking abuses as is sometimes supposed. Many members take insufficient interest in the society, they exercise little restraint over dishonest members.⁷¹ Many prominent public men questioned the advisability of continuing the principle of unlimited liability in rural credit societies as even the most optimistic supporter of the co-operative movement cannot say that it has any way justified the expectations of embracing even a moiety of the agricultural population in its fold. It is doubtful whether even the full implications of limited liability are realised by those who joined the movement as a few would like to stand security to an unlimited extent for the debt incurred even by the closest friends and relations.⁷² Though great things were said and expected of co-operation,

it had only earned well-deserved rebukes from responsible quarters which had intimate knowledge of its working because what it did is so little compared to what it is leaving undone. Mr. Satyanathan who investigated into the rural indebtedness in Madras in 1935 felt that for the first 10 years, 1917-27, it had been taught to run before it learned to walk.⁷³ When people are illiterate and ignorant to follow the principles, a vigorous policy of deofficialisation is bound to fail as selfish motives and personal interests swayed the field.⁷⁴

Mr. Satyanathan felt, "white-washing the defects of co-operation is no good, I venture to suggest that many of those who are in office are vehement against official control though they are not even the mouth-pieces of those who supply the credit. Too often, these leaders are carried away by theories and influenced by motives, which, to say the least, are mixed. If the public supplies the capital, the government supplies some amenities which are quite essential, I would like to see what the non-officials who are always hungering for more control would say if government suddenly lost all interest in the movement and decided to withdraw completely ; there would be complete chaos and confusion."⁷⁵

Several remedies have been suggested by the various committees and authorities who have gone into the problem. The Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee recommended the strengthening of the co-operative department by granting adequate loans. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee suggested (i) the appointment of special officers for reduction of debt on the basis of cash payments of equal instalments, spread over a number of years, (ii) the existing co-operative credit societies should be utilised as the agencies for the payments to the lender of the amounts payable under the terms of the settlement and it will be a part of the arrangement that the borrower should become a member of the co-operative society so that the society may provide for his current needs in future, (iii) where the lender is willing to take annual instalments the outstanding debt that is paid may be treated as deposit even if it is paid meanwhile by the borrowers and is paid to him by annual instalments, only, where the lender wants cash payments, the government should lend the society the necessary funds which will be repaid in annual instalments, (iv) in fixing the annual instalments to be paid by the borrower due regard will have to be paid for his paying capacity after making full allowances

for his current expenses for cultivation and maintenance. In cases where the societies have to fail due to defaults in payment, government should come to their rescue. These recommendations were sought to be clothed with legislative power and passed as enactments to be effective.⁷⁵ But the government was not very enthusiastic in implementing these recommendations.

Mr. Satyanathan pleaded for treating agriculture as an industry and Co-operative Department as something more than a machinery for registration, audit, arbitration, execution or liquidation.⁷⁶ He refers to the simple "tale of woe" when supervision and control of co-operative societies were left to non-official control. "Several were the instances and thousands of debts were secured for the fields, the numbers of which do not exist in the survey records. The honorary officials get loans at cheap rates and trade in them. If this state of affairs is to end, there cannot be a half-way house and the entire supervision must be in the hands of the Co-operative Department."⁷⁷ The question of overdues was another problem getting serious day by day, good societies steadily decreasing while bad societies were multiplying. There were heavy losses and dwindling profits. Due to the overtures of a few unscrupulous office-bearers, hundreds of innocent persons were ruined as a result of the principle of unlimited liability.⁷⁸ Several recommendations to improve the state of affairs were also made by Mr. Satyanathan. "As wise and solvent men do not like to join these societies unless they know the real state of affairs, he suggested the hanging up of the audited balance sheets in the premises and village Chavadies."⁷⁹ He pleaded for more official control, extra powers to the Registrars to remove undesirable men after proper inquiry, surcharges in cases of bad and irregular expenditure of funds, right to impose fines for disobedience of the provisions of the Act and rules, setting up of conciliation boards, legislation restricting alienation of lands for debts with a view to enabling the agriculturists to retain at least the minimum holding required for their maintenance, registration of money-lenders and declaration of compound interest loans as usurious and dismissal of such suits with costs, etc.⁸⁰ If the government paid any attention and implemented any of the recommendations either of the Banking Enquiry Committee or of Mr. Satyanathan there could have been to some extent an improvement in the lot of the agriculturists and the tempo of the co-operative movement. But this was not done.

There were no known land transfers for debts before British rule or even its predecessor, Muslim rule. At best, the creditor and the debtor shared the crops.⁸¹ It was only towards the latter half of the 19th century that land began to pass to the hands of the non-agriculturists for debts.⁸²

As no relief was offered to the ryot in spite of all the invaluable suggestions made by the several Committees and Commissions that enquired into the problems of rural debt,, his condition began to deteriorate. In Guntur while the ryots' borrowings for purchase of lands had to be repaid without any reduction in amounts, the value of the assets including the land so bought, had depreciated on account of a fall in agricultural prices.⁸³ In Nellore, a common feature of the sale of lands was the foreclosure of the mortgage where the creditor was content with appropriating for himself all the lands of the debtor and cut down all the money due to him on the sale value of land, though it may exceed by far its actual market price.⁸⁴ In Kurnool, the boom in groundnut was accompanied by an extension of credit and increase in indebtedness on a big scale. Many ryots thought a golden age had come and extended their holdings on the strength of easily obtainable loans. Loans were sold to meet these debts and landed property had tended to accumulate in the hands of big money-lending ryots or of the merchants.⁸⁵

These land conversions and heavy pressure of agricultural debt on the peasantry led to the passing of the Madras Debt Relief Act in 1938 by the first Congress Ministry in the Province. According to this, the principal could be reduced by courts in suits by creditors so as not to exceed a total repayment under principal and interest of a sum equivalent to thrice the principal. The small holders who went on paying debt were expected to be benefited initially by this Act.

Still, the plight of the peasant had not improved considerably. The Second World War and the heavy demand for agricultural commodities no doubt increased agricultural prices, but the benefit derived by the small landholders was little. The same impression was confirmed by the investigations into rural debt in Madras, conducted by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy as the Economist appointed by the government to inquire into this matter.⁸⁶ He also came to the conclusion that the small cultivators still had heavy debts and they did not prosper to the same extent as the bigger agriculturists who could only have

the benefit of higher prices during the war.

The Government of Madras and the Government of India too continued to display an enthusiastic interest in this all important problem of peasant poverty and rural credit though precious little was done to heed the recommendations of the Committees that went into the matter so far. The Gadgil Committee on agricultural finance appointed by the Government of India in 1944 came to the same conclusions and as co-operation was not able to meet the magnitude of the task suggested the regulation of money-lending, the development of private institutional credit and the creation of an agricultural credit corporation, providing for cheap and easy credit to the cultivators.⁸⁷ These measures of reform appeared too radical to the co-operative circles and never received the attention they deserved. Subsequent committees like the Saraiya Committee on co-operation and Nanavati Committee too made their own recommendations with little beneficial effects on government and agriculturists, with the result the problem of agricultural indebtedness and peasant poverty continued to be the same. Even the help given to co-operative financing by the agricultural credit department of the Reserve Bank was considered to be too orthodox to be of any ready help to the agriculturists and demands for the re-orientation of its policy continued.

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CHAPTER XI

COTTAGE AND FACTORY INDUSTRIES

Cottage Industries

By the beginning of the 20th century, several cottage industries in Andhra, such as (i) Bangle industry, (ii) Hand-made paper, (iii) Painted cloth manufacture, (iv) Manufacture of pith work including garlands and musical instruments, (v) Indigo, (vi) Kondapalli toy industry, (vii) Lacquer work, (viii) Boat building, (ix) Jutka building, (x) Gold and silver lace thread making, (xi) Crochet lace, (xii) Artistic pottery, etc.¹, were declining for want of adequate assistance and encouragement.

(i) *Bangle Industry* : This died almost except in Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur, Nellore, Kistna and Vizag. The important centres were Dhone in Kurnool, Somapalem and Maddiledu in Chittoor and Guthur in Anantapur district. Glass bangles were made by castes like *Gajulas*, *Balijas* or *Telagas* (except lac bangles by Muslims) from glass imported from Ferozepur in Uttar Pradesh, as well as from local materials. Several cheap varieties in different colours were made, but the products of Kurnool were considered superior to those of Bellary because of their colour and attractive painting with tinsel. The average daily produce varied from 500 bangles in Bellary to 3,000 in Chittoor, the wages varying from As. 10 to Re. 1-4-0 a day. Due to the absence of a steady demand, the artisan could work only for 10 days in a month, while the Japanese competition had made his existence still more precarious due to want of adequate help from Government.

(ii) *Paper Industry* : Paper industry was carried on till 1890 in Nyamdale, Kondapalli (Bezwada Taluk) and Kondavidu (Guntur). In Nyamdale, 40 families were engaged in 24 karkhanas, the products finding a market in Bellary. In Chandupalli, 10 to 12 Hindu families and about 60 Muslim families were engaged in this industry, but the art gradually died and later efforts to revive it met with failure.

(iii) *Palempores or Printed Cloth Manufacture* : Masulipatam was the chief seat of this industry for centuries and its reputation in the world markets enabled it to linger on in spite of the heavy odds against it. The industry suffered a severe

check in 1864 with the tidal wave which wiped out half the town. Still there were 145 families as late as 1886 specialising in Palempore Printing. By 1921, there were only 2 karkhanas engaging 55 men and 85 women. Besides these, there were 25 families in Sardayapeta and Ramudupeta villages in the employ of these firms. Of the three kinds of Palempores, viz., (i) Block painted, (ii) Block painted and hand painted and (iii) Hand painted, only the third variety consisted of canopies, screen clothes, prayer clothes, bed sheets, table covers, men's handkerchiefs, turbans, clothes for Mohammedan jackets, women's clothes, sarees and other clothes entirely hand painted made of the type of live pattern of mythological subjects made to order. There were only 2 men who were specialists in this field. The ordinary trade was in block printed canopies, screens, bed covers, men's and women's dresses and of these, bed sheets, screens and canopies were best known to Europeans. These varieties were used exclusively in Persia. The selection of fabrics depended on the choice of cloth. Generally, English Cambrics were used for painting by hand, cheap mull, kora mull, long cloth and jaconets for printing designs. The main colours were chiefly deep red and black and occasionally light blue, dark blue, green, yellow and dark brown. But, of late, there was a steady decline in the demand for these prints due to changing fashions, preference for cheap, light shades of imported foreign cloth. After 1922, there was a fall in demand from Persia too, where these prints were worn by men and women for daily wear, as their demand began to be met by cheap foreign imitations from Manchester and bed covers made locally from Ispham. "If the firms can be made to concentrate on the fine quality prints which originally caught the world markets in raptures, it was felt it should not be difficult for them to regain their place of pride."²

(iv) *Kondapalli Toy Industry*: Though this had been steadily declining it had not totally disappeared. By 1900, there were 50 families which came to 25 by 1930. Some of them left for Nagpur as the industry was not sufficiently remunerative. The main castes engaged in this industry were the Nakshas or Mutchis and the Arya Kshatriyas. There were about 25 skilled artisans left by 1930. Two kinds of toys were made in the villages, (i) toys made of wood were chiefly small figures or groups of figures carved and painted by men only and (ii) cow-dung toys made chiefly by widows at home during spare hours.

Both the types were coloured with attractive designs, finished with a coat of varnish, but the wooden toys alone were popular because of their durability. Cow-dung toys were cheap and sold at 3 to 6 pies in the markets, fairs and festivals. The toy makers purchased wood at Re. 1 per headload which yielded about Rs. 25 worth of 3 inches toys or Rs. 15 worth of bigger type. The timber was dried before using. Trays and fancy boxes, etc., were also made besides human figures, animals, birds, palmyra trees and toy sets. On an average, the daily outturn of workers was 6 to 8 toys of 3 inches size. A box containing 24 three-inch dolls and worth Rs. 3 to Rs. 3-8-0 was done in three days. Two days' time was taken to work dozen dolls of 6" size. This set of a dozen dolls was sold at Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8-0. The cost of a 34-doll set was Rs. 3. A master workman used to earn about Rs. 30 a month and an ordinary worker about Rs. 15 a month by dolls. The total outturn was Rs. 42,000 per annum. The toys were sent to Madras, Bangalore, Mysore and Bombay during the Dasara. During every trip dolls worth Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 used to be disposed of. Every year thousand rupees worth of dolls were given to the Victoria Jubilee Institute, Madras, which used to send some of them to foreign countries. Now and then orders were received from shop-keepers at Vizag, Behrampore, Madras, Trichy, Nilgiris, Bangalore ranging from Rs. 25 to Rs. 100. Dolls and toys are also made at Settigunta (Cuddapah), Tirupati, Kalahasti (Chittoor), Kundlapalli (Kistna), Kurichedu and Stonehousepetta (Nellore), Etikoppaka and Parlakimidi (Vizag). Kondapalli, Sattanapalli, Etikoppaka, Kalahasti and Parlakimidi manufacture superior wooden toys. In Chittoor and Sattanapalli the dolls are made of cedar wood, while in Kondapalli and Etikoppaka, lighter wood is used for making them. Wages for workmen range from As. 4 to As. 5 a day, while the turners of wood earn from As. 8 to As. 10 a day.³ The toy makers were too poor to have large stocks and to comply with large orders regularly and promptly. Due to the foreign competition, the industry was slowly declining.

(v) *Lacquer Work* was in a small scale at Nossam, a village 17 miles from Koilkuntla in Kurnool, Nandyala, Sringavarapu Kota and four other villages in Vizag and Mandasa in Ganjam. In Kurnool, there were three families of Viswa Brahmins who used to prepare fans, trays and small kerchief boxes and work on them with lacquer. The wood used was 'palki', 'peda vepa' and 'medi', but the Kurnool workers used to import jack-

wood trays of Palghat for use. The Nossam and Kurnool workers still receive patronage of the Victoria Jubilee Institute, Madras.

At Sringavarapu Kota, in Vizag, Bharanis, Chess Boards, Cups and Cots were manufactured by five families of Viswa Brahmins with certain species of wood known as 'chitti ankudu', 'lolika', 'garuvadi', 'puttimari', 'gumpilla' and mango which were purchased from the forests of Vijayanagar on a payment of a permit of As. 1½ per head load to the Estate. The annual out-turn was of Rs. 1,500 financed by four families from Vijayanagaram to purchase lac, colours, etc. The lacquer wares prepared here were sold at Vizag, Simhachalam, Anakapalle and Vijayanagaram.

(vi) *Cochet Lace Industry* introduced towards the end of the last century by Christian missions to give employment to Christian women and girls is still carried on in and around Naraspur and Palakole in West Godavary. The raw materials required are hooks and cotton. Each woman works six to eight hours a day and earns 6 to 8 annas while a girl earns about 4 annas a day. A skillful worker's earnings come to Rs. 15 per mensem, while an average person does not earn more than Rs. 12. The merchants and the middlemen who trade in lace pay by piece rates, the price being paid according to the quality and the time spent on it. Most patterns consist of mixtures of leaves, roses, table centres. Doyles, table cloths, tea cloth, borders, oval centres, bonnets, pillow cases, night dress cases, lace edgings, table runners, pin cushions, tea cosy covers, door and window curtains are made for order alone. The overseas price varied between Rs. 38-0-6 to Rs. 14-9-0 per dozen including packing and freight charges. There had been a decline in the lace sales during 1920-31. Fifteen merchants from Naraspur and Palakole (West Godavary) were exporting every year Rs. 5 lakh worth of goods abroad during 1921-24. But, of late, there has been a steady decline due to change in fashions, the heavy tariff duties imposed in U.S.A., the keen competition of the cheap imported machine made lace. The only things that are still attracting attention are the pillow cases and the embroidery work.

(vii) *Boat Building*: Tallarevu on the Coringa River near Cocanada (East Godavary) was once the seat of a large ship-building industry, but with the advent of steam and the silting of the river, the industry received a setback. The outbreak

of the war stimulated some demand for country-craft and cargo boats. Smaller boats were also built at Dhavaleswaram, Chintallanka, Neelapalli and Kotipalli. The timber required was got from Rajahmundry, where the Godavary teak drifted down the river was stocked and sold. A boat of ordinary size with a holding capacity of 700 to 800 bags of grain cost Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000 and could be built within two months by 25 men working on it.⁴

(viii) *Dyeing* : Indigo dyeing was a speciality of Gollapalem near Cocanada and was carried on in several other villages too. Similarly, jutka building, gold and silver lace threads, artistic pottery were done by a few workmen in every place. The excellence of the old craft was gradually declining for want of proper patronage and encouragement.

There were no large scale industries on any considerable scale, the majority being small household cottage products only. With the transference of the Provincial Industries Department to the charge of Ministries, some progress in this direction was made by 1921. Sir Alfred Chatterton introduced experiments in metal work, chrome tanning and the popularisation of the fly shuttle slay. His encouragement to pumping plants for irrigation stimulated private enterprise in every part of the Presidency.⁵ Small industrial factories for cotton ginning, ground-nut decorticating and rice hulling were introduced. Rice Hullers in Circars and cotton gins and ground-nut decorticators in Ceded Districts were the most important of factories. In Guntur, Nellimerla and Bhimlipatam, there were jute mills while in Kirlampudi, Samalkot, Vuyyur and Vizagapatam there were sugar factories and refineries. In Rajahmundry, there is a paper mill and in Bezwada a cement factory. Silk mill industry is prominent in Peddapuram (East Godavary) while handloom industry is in existence all over Andhra as the oldest and largest of cottage industries. The question of factory industries will be discussed a little later.

Ceded Districts are potentially rich with great deposits of several minerals and mines of barytes, asbestos, stones, gold, iron, etc. In 1912, steatite deposits were opened up at Muddavaram and Musilacherevu near Betamcherla in Kurnool and were exported to U.S.A. Most of the steatite from Musilicherevu was of green variety though white variety was also available. At Muddavaram, the steatite is only white associated with quality rock and magnesite and is suitable for articles such as

gas burners. Indian steatite is useful for carving images, bowls, plates and ornamental articles. The output from Kurnool deposits which in 1924 was 210 tons gradually ceased a few years later. The question of steatite deposits in Anantapur and Kurnool requires a geological survey. Asbestos is available in Cuddapah and Kurnool. It was first discovered in Lingala by a cultivator in a well, but the production in recent years was small. As the possibility of using asbestos for cement manufacturing is immense, Mr. Green recommended the setting up of a factory to establish trade with Malaya, Ceylon and Burma. A few asbestos samples sent by the Asbestos Cement Company in 1937 were reported to be good. In Bellary and Kurnool, iron and hematite ores existed where furnaces were worked out in Yerragultanakota in Chitvel and Rayachoti near Maddicheruvu.⁶

Diamond and gold mines too exist in Bellary and Anantapur. About the mineral resources of the Ceded Districts and Circars, a detailed discussion is, however, given in a subsequent chapter.

Bellary is the most important cotton ginning and groundnut decorticating centre. These seasonal factories provide employment to a lot of agricultural labour in these regions. Oil extraction, flour milling, rice milling, turmeric polishing are some of the other small home industries in these parts. There are also good possibilities of development of sugar industry in the Ceded Districts. In 1936-37, the areas under sugarcane in Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah were 781, 544, 2,794 and 519 acres. In Hospet, the average was 7,732 with possibilities of developing toddy into jaggery. The area under groundnuts in Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah in 1936-37 was 4,68,915, 2,29,899, 3,15,639, 2,02,929 acres, Kurnool being the largest groundnut producing centre. These four districts represented 34.8% of the total production in 1936-37. The area under the oilseeds was also not inconsiderable. There are possibilities of fruit preservation in Cuddapah and Kurnool. Panyam in Kurnool is an important centre for fruits like mangoes, oranges, guavas, wood apple, plums, etc. A fruit preservation factory at Panyam was considered to be a good outlay for the fruit from this centre in surplus seasons. Bellary was also a chief cotton producing centre with 5,91,914 acres under cotton, while in the other three districts in 1936-37 the cotton cultivation was 2,33,192, 1,43,316 and 6,14,421 acres respectively. Out of a population of 10,28,000 in Bellary there were 13,494 cotton

silk weavers and 8,219 handloom weavers. If a mill of a productive capacity of 3,00,000 lbs. of average 20s yarn per month was set up the capital required would be Rs. 22 lakhs. But the proposal was not seriously taken up.

These districts were famous for their fine and delicate handicrafts from times immemorial which were formerly patronised by zamindars, chiefs, nobles and rich families. The unrivalled excellence and admirable workmanship displayed in gold, silver, pottery, cumblies, shawls, muslins, rugs and fabrics were known all over the world.⁷ Chiselling and carving work on stones had established a permanent reputation for the artisans of these parts. "It may be truly said that the artistic spirit displayed in their temples permeates the lives of the people. From the earliest times, they have been famous throughout the world for their skill in the products of delicate woven fabrics, in the blending of colours, in the working of metals and precious stones. Everything that comes from the hands of these artisans down to the cheaper toy or an earthen vessel is a work of art."⁸

Opening of railways, development of communications, expansion of trade with the West, disappearance of the Indian courts, cheap foreign imports, machine products created a lot of displacement in rural life and industries.⁹

Still cottage industries survive and continue to flourish because India is essentially a land of cottage industries and many of our artisans work in isolated villages. Hand-spinning, handloom weaving, silk, wool and cotton manufactures, making of fibres out of cocoanut, palmyra, hemp, aloo, dyeing and printing, metal industry and cutlery, match manufacturing, bangle industry, slate and marble industry, doll and toy manufacture, painting and lacquer work, wood and underwood industries, bamboo, cane, palmyra and paper manufactures, oil and soap manufacture, gold and silver lace making, bidi and cheroots preparations, sericulture, leather industry, ceramics, mica making, cap making are some of the important handicrafts. Adi Andhras, Devangis, Padmasalis, Muhammadans and Telaga castes were usually engaged in these industries. Men, women and children were engaged in the ratio of 4 : 2 : 1.¹⁰ Even in highly industrialised centres, the cottage industries have a place of pride; for example, the Sheffield cutlery, one of the glories of England, is a hand product. Similarly, the industries of chain and nail making, lace and hosiery.¹¹

The industries in Andhra are mostly localised, the artisans have no capital of their own and borrow from the village money-lender. They work from 7 a.m. to 12 noon and 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. Women help their men in most of these cottage industries, both in Circars and Ceded Districts. The ancient craft guilds gradually declined and adequate government or co-operative assistance is not forthcoming.

The co-operative movement could not take them into its fold, "due to the heavy indebtedness of the workers, opposition of master workers to form co-operative societies, want of proper human element to work on a co-operative basis, irregular and desultory habits of the artisans, want of loyalty to society on the part of workers, lack of ambition to improve their status, lack of uniformity in their products, difficulty of finding a market for their produce, etc."¹² The special officer appointed to investigate into the problems of cottage industries had suggested some remedial measures like (a) technical improvements, (b) better and cheap raw materials, (c) better education, (d) adequate finance, (e) marketing facilities, (f) freedom from the clutches of the village money-lender, (g) cheap loans, (h) co-operative purchase of raw materials, (i) cheap transport rates, (j) reduction of Seignorage fees on forest products, (k) improvement of tools and appliances, (l) facilities for cheap power, etc.¹³ As usual, government paid no heed to these recommendations.

Cotton spinning and handloom industry is greatly prevalent all over Andhra. Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Guntur, Chittoor, Kistna, the two Godavarys, Nellore, Vizag and Ganjam are the most important centres in Circars and Ceded Districts. Though the modern mill industry has dealt a serious blow to its development, the handloom industry is carried on with primitive implements with the same finish. Best sarees are woven in Dharmavaram (Anantapur), Cuddapah, Hindupur, Pedana (Kistna), Venkatagiri (Nellore), Pullampeta, Bandarlanka, Mangalagiri, Yemmigannuru, Kampli, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Guntur, Madhavaram, Ramavaram, Jammalamadugu, Thogatepalli, Proddatur and Moramgudi, Uppada, Mori (East Godavary), Bahadurpetta and Chittoor. Besides these, dhoties, lungis, angavastrams, Madras handkerchiefs, towels, bed sheets and chadars (bed sheets) are made in these places. Some improvements are effected of late. Warping mills are started in Ganjam, Vizag, Kurnool and Cuddapah (3), Pullampeta and

Madhavaram (4), 6 in Rajahmundry and Bellary, 100 warping mills in Guntur in Cherala, Venkatagiri and Mangalagiri, 30 in Bandar Kistna, 15 in Palacole, 5 in Ellore, 4 in Naraspore (W. Godavary) and 50 in Nellore. Fly shuttle is generally adopted by 1915. The number of handlooms in Kurnool were 6,000, Anantapur 1,200, East and West Godavary 8,000, Cuddapah 7,000, Bellary 4,500, and Guntur 14,974, the highest in the Presidency. But, the weavers were not able to work with profit. The power-looms offered competition from another side. But it was not disastrous. The looms last long and cost little. But, it is not possible to introduce artistic technique on the power-loom and as such, for all fine work, handloom is the only alternative. As the Royal Commission on Agriculture has said, "the handloom industry in India is still of great importance in the native economy and has upto the present shown remarkable vitality in the face of competition with factory products. It is likely to form the principal village industry and there is no reason to fear its immediate decline." Chittoor, Kistna, Cherala in Guntur, Vetapalem, Pandalapaka, Guntur, Greampet, Narayanapuram, Bahadurpetta in Chittoor, Pedana in Bandar in Kistna, Ellore, Sanivarapupeta, Palakole in West Godavary, Kovur and Inamadugu in Nellore produce a variety of lungis.

But indebtedness is a chronic feature of the weavers. They borrow money from the professional money-lenders at 9% to 10% rates of interest and are constantly in difficulties.

Carpet weaving is carried on in many places and mainly in Ellore (West Godavary), Janil in Vizag, Gumawarpadu and Jallakkallu in Guntur, Adoni in Bellary and Kurnool, each employing 3,000 looms. Dyeing and bleaching is done in Adoni and Kurnool. The carpets made in Adoni do not yield more than As. 4 profit on a cost price of Rs. 5-4-0, but the annual trade amounts to four to five lakhs of rupees. Same is the case in Kurnool. The markets are Bombay, Khandesh, Akola, Amraoti, Mysore and Punjab, mostly having occasional exports to U.K. and U.S.A. But, these have to face the severe competition from the jail carpets of Rajahmundry and Vizag.

Lace and embroidery work is done in West Godavary, Kistna, Masulipatam, Naraspur, Bhimavaram, chiefly by the girl students and boarders. In West Godavary, about 3,000 women, all castes including Christians, Pallis, Telagas are engaged in the industry. They make table cloth, table centres, tea cloth borders, oval centres, pillow covers, night dress cases, lace edgings, table

ranch, pin cushion covers, door and window curtains, etc. The markets for these products are U.K., U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand. The export from Narasipore alone is worth a lakh of rupees annually. The middlemen make a profit of 12½% to 20%. Wages do not exceed three to four annas for ordinary workmen and As. 8 to As. 12 in the case of experienced workmen. The industry has been declining of late due to reasons already discussed. Miss B. M. Tweedle enquired into the condition of the industry in 1925 and made some recommendations, but the Government did not accept them.

Carpets, Nawars, Tapes, Waist strings and fish nets are made in all villages of Northern Circars and districts especially in Palamkota Jain in Kurnool and Nandyala, Macherla (Guntur) villages in Bhimavaram, Mallavaram (West Godavary), Singanandapattam (Vizag) and a few villages in Chittoor. In tape making in Northern Circars and Ceded Districts, the daily earnings of a labourer come to As. 4 to As. 6. In villages of Chittoor, in Macherla (Guntur), Tekkalikota (Bellary) cotton pattis and screens are prepared by 'Jangamus', 'Dudekulias' and weaver castes. These pattus are used as curtains by touring officers and tents by traders. These are sold all over Andhra and exported to Bangalore and Bombay.¹⁴

Best waist strings are made in Chillamattur in Hindupur of Anantapur by Mohammedans with cotton silk and waste silk yarn. Coloured hemp is also used sometimes to keep down the cost of production. This industry is mostly local.

Fish nets are made mostly in Circars, each net costing about Rs. 100. Materials required are cocoanut coir worth Rs. 10 and yarn worth about Rs. 34 and the remaining amount covers wages. The work is spread over a period of three to six months. February to September is a busy season when old nets are repaired and fresh ones are made. To make a net worth Rs. 25, 30 men have to work for a month. There is not much export of these nets and demand is mostly local.

For silk weaving the principal centres were Berhampore, Peddapuram, Uppada, Dharmavaram (Anantapur), Rayadrug, Kurnool, Dharmapur, Arni, Kodunur, Narayanavaram, Greamps-peta, Jaggiahpet, Sherlkhamadpet. Cotton with a mixture of silk was produced in Tadipatri, Bellary, Guntur, Pattikonda, Nandyala, Narayanavaram, Greamps-peta and Jaggiahpet. The looms that were in use were mostly ordinary. Fly shuttles were in use only in Peddapuram. The earnings of a weaver amounted

to As. 10 to As. 12 a day. But, if lace was used, he earned Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8-0. Burma was a tempting market with a demand for Rs. 30 lakhs worth of goods, where the Andhra silk industry could undersell Japan.¹⁵

Wool spinning and weaving was carried on from very early times in Bellary, Kurnool, Kistna, Anantapur, Nandikotkur, Tangagallu, Balaguppa in Kalyandrug in Gooty and Anantapur, chiefly in Viraganu, Deverapalli, Palligallu in Dronadulla, Idimudi and Kumupalem (in Guntur), Madanapalle and Punganur in Chittoor. Except in Bellary and Kurnool, wool spinning was very rarely the primary occupation of the people. Wool was sheared, collected and cleaned by hand. '*Charka*' was used in a few centres for spinning it. But dyeing was done in Anantapur with alizarine dyes of different colours. The cumblies were woven on country pits looms designed and constructed on the usual principles, but very primitive and clumsy. The shuttle used in Bellary and Kurnool was of the primitive type and except in Siddapuram in Kurnool, fly shuttle was nowhere in use. The best quality of cumblies were made in Bellary in Kemaghatala, Ulsangidrug and Kuduthani. Fine cumblies of close feature and soft to the touch were made with silk borders and each such cumbly fetched Rs. 20 to Rs. 25. Weaving was so nice that cloth could be used even for overcoats. These products of Ceded Districts were usually sent to Bombay, Mysore and South India annually to the tune of some lakhs of rupees.¹⁶

Carpet weaving was carried on in Ellore, Masulipatam and other parts of West Godavary. The fortune of this once famous cottage industry was gradually declining.¹⁷ At present, olive was used and in West Godavary ; the usual colours were green, rose, red, pink, blue, etc., used for making ordinary carpets.

Printing and dyeing were sister arts developed here for ages with roaring fame all over the world which in the heyday of their prosperity held international markets in rapture. Even today, the art is to be seen in Masulipatam, Ellore, Kalahasti, Chirala in Guntur.

Fibre and paper making were the other age-old industries developed in these parts. Coir industry was one of the principal South Indian industries, in existence from the 15th century. Hemp fibre was grown on 45,264 acres in Guntur, 26,218 acres in Kistna, 17,595 acres in Kurnool and fibre making was done in Cuddapah, Anantapur, Guntur, Nellore and Vizag. Palmyra fibre was made in Nellore, East and West Godavary, Kistna by

fishermen, Adi Andhras, Yenadis and Kapus. Aloo fibre was grown in thousands of acres in Anantapur and the extraction of the fibre was done by the poor classes.

Metal and bell-metal industry was in existence in Andhra for a long time, besides enamelled ware, earthen, aluminium and Chinaware. The chief centres were Cuddapah, Nellore, Rajahmundry and Peddapuram. Aluminium goods were made in Rajahmundry while iron safes were made in West Godavary and Ellore.

Mats fit for daily use by all castes were made in Inavolu (Guntur), Buchireddipalem, Kovur, Indur, Darisi, Plodil and Kandukur (Nellore), Nandi Ram, Chipurupalli and Rajampeta in Cuddapah and Palamner in Chittoor. The cost of mats prior to the war varied from As. 6 to Rs. 1-8-0. Besides korai mats, Palmyra mats were made in Guntur, Nellore and the Circars and Date mats in Siddavaram, Shivapuram and Nalicherla.

Underwood industry was carried on besides at Narasaraopeta, in other places like Razole and Madakasira. These are also made in all parts of Circars mostly for internal use in Circars and Ceded Districts and occasionally for export to Hyderabad and Madras.¹⁸

Lacquer work was usually done in Koilkuntla, and Nossam in Kurnool, Sringavarapukota, Lakkapalli, Chandananda, Sarvesiddhi and Lakkavarapukota in Vizag.¹⁹

Combs are made by Muslims in Kalahasti, Ramapuram, Chinapalli, Vandlapalli in Chittoor, Kodikunda of Anantapur. Wood known as 'nakki', 'nalla baslara', 'lalava' from adjoining forests sell at As. 2 per head load. The smallest sell at 2 pies to 3 pies, bigger 4 pies. At a wholesale rate, 100 sell at 14 annas to Re. 1. The chief centre is Kalahasti in Chittoor which is also known for its bronze and metal industry. The earning of a worker on combs comes to As. 5 per day.²⁰

Bamboo baskets for daily use were also made in all villages. The chief places were Ichhapuram in Ganjam, Parvatipur and Uddandapur in Vizag, almost in all places in Nellore, China Ayineedu, Peda Ayineedu in Chittoor, Nandyal and Sirvel in Kurnool, etc. Bamboo was brought from the forests of Ganjam, Vizag and Nallamalais in Nellore.²¹

Slates are made in Markapuram of Kurnool. Bangles are made in Dhone, Somapalem, Maddiledu and Guntur. Selling price varies from Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 5-0-0 per 1,000.²²

Soap stone utensils are made in a number of villages in

Nellore and Gooty of Anantapur District by a section of blacksmiths. The stone is a variety of steatite available in Poramboke and Patta lands. In Nellore, a co-operative society is started to encourage the soap stone makers which charges 12½% Seinorage on the net profit of the Society, instead of selling the right to quarry stones in public auction. The annual production of Nellore is worth Rs. 6,000 while in other districts, it is about Rs. 4,000. These pot stone vessels are used in daily cooking in Hindu households. Toys also are made of this stone in Bellary, Palnadu and Vinukonda in Guntur where also toys, small snuff boxes, chess boards, ink bottles, etc., are made, the workers earning As. 6 to As. 8 a day.²³

Stone carving and making of the idols of Hindu Gods is done by sculptors and carpenters in Maddalur, Kalahasti, Tiruchannor in Chittoor out of soft stone similar to granite. The stone is available in Maddur.

Stone polishing and marble industry is in existence in Rentachintla in Palnad Taluk of Guntur. Marble slabs of different hues, black, reddish brown, pale blue and green are obtained free of charge in Patta and Poramboke lands. Paper weights, table planks of several sizes and varieties, front stones, polished stones with inscriptions are engraved here. There is not enough work to engage the artisans throughout the year. A good marble tile industry could be established in Ceded Districts for house furnishing with adequate capital with a view to develop decoration of construction in Andhra as this has not attracted the attention of the investing public. The stone and marble products made here are purchased by Indian and British officers. There is also a good demand here from Ellore, Nellore, Bezwada, Guntur and Rajahmundry.²⁴

In Kondairelu in Guntur about 200 Muslim families make scents, hair oils, perfumes and incense sticks (agar batties). Jasmine is grown abundantly here, but the industry is declining due to foreign competition.²⁵

The ivory work at Vizagapatam won international appreciation. Fancy articles like ivory caskets, photo frames, glove boxes, ladies work boxes, visiting card cases, jewellery cases with lace work, pictures of Hindu deities, images, floral designs, miniature animals, birds, chess boards, book stands, palanquins, blotting stands, watch cases, beads, lockets, cigarette holders and a host of other varieties in ivory frame work artistically and beautifully fitted on sandal wood stands are among the numerous

articles made here. The price of caskets vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 800 according to design, size, material used. Photo frames cost from Rs. 10 to Rs. 600. Purchasers are mostly Europeans, rajahs and zamindars. Some of the fancy articles are sent to Bombay for 20% commission. Some exports are made to foreign countries. The ivory required is obtained from Calcutta, Bombay, Travancore and also from the local Marwari merchants.²⁶

Boot and leather industry is prominent in Bellary and Bezwada while it is spread all over Andhra.

Leaf plaiting is done in Sringavarapukota, Parvatipur, Bobbili, Salur Taluk and few villages of Viravilli, Golkonda, Vizag, Kavali, Kovur in Nellore and Kandukur by 'adda', 'moguda' and 'tada' leaves by women. From a head load of leaves costing Rs. 1-4-0 about 400 to 600 leaf platters of ordinary size are prepared by women working 6 to 8 hours and earning As. 1½ to As. 2 and again As. 1 a day. Annually one lakh of rupees worth of goods are exported.

Factory Industries

The Andhra districts are predominantly agricultural and are known for their fine handicrafts, village and cottage industries discussed so far. From the point of industrial development, they constitute a backward region and the very few factory industries that exist are confined to cotton ginning and groundnut decorticating factories, a paper mill in Rajahmundry, the only one of its type in Madras, rice mills, cement factories in Mangalagiri in Guntur and Bezwada, sugar factories in Vuyyur, Samalcot and Nellikuppam, jute mills in Nellimarla and Chittivalasa, besides manganese in Sandur and mica mining and manufacture in Nellore.^{26a}

(1) *Cotton Gins and Presses* : There are about 21 cotton gins in Bellary, 4 each in Guntur and Anantapur and 1 each in East Godavary and Kurnool. No exact information is available about the production, employment, wages, working conditions and welfare activities in these centres as the Labour Investigation Committee which enquired into these matters in 1944 concentrated its investigations mainly on the cotton gins at Tirupur in the South.²⁷

(2) *Paper Mill* : There is one paper mill at Rajahmundry in the East Godavary disirict employing about 602 workers in 1944.²⁸ The output of this factory was about 200 tons per month. The labour employed was mostly local and was recruited by

the factory manager in consultation with the heads of departments. Except the fitters and turners, none of the workers in the other occupations were paid more than Re. 1. The lowest paid occupation was that of female coolies whose average basic wage was Re. 0-6-0, while male coolies got Re. 0-8-3. The highest average daily earnings of turners were Rs. 1-6-0 per day, a male cooly Re. 0-13-6 per day and a female cooly Re. 0-12-3. Dearness allowance was paid at Rs. 10 per month to permanent workers and at 20 per cent of wages to temporary workers. There was a trade union with a membership of 200.

(3) *Cement Factories* : It was not till 1933 that a regular development of the cement industry took place in Madras, although the first cement factory to be started in India was in Madras as early as 1904. There are only two cement factories in Andhra, viz., one the Kistna Cement Works at Mangalagiri and the other the Andhra Cement Co. Ltd., at Bezwada.²⁹

(1) *The Kistna Cement Works, Mangalagiri (Guntur)* : The total number of workers employed by the Kistna Cement Works, belonging to the Associated Cement Co. Ltd., at Mangalagiri (Guntur) was 603 in 1944. About 500 to 800 workers were employed for quarrying through contractors. The contractors' employees were not paid any dearness allowance. Three shifts of 8 hours were worked in certain processes from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. and 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. The highest average wages were for the hammer crackers who got Rs. 2-2-0 per day and the lowest Re. 0-8-3 per day to the cooly in the packing department.³⁰ Turners were paid the highest wage, their daily basic wage being Rs. 1-12-9 and the net earnings Rs. 2-0-9. Next in order came fitters, carpenters, drivers and millers. Their daily basic wages were Rs. 1-11-3, Rs. 1-15-9, Rs. 1-4-6 and Re. 0-15-11 and net earnings Rs. 2-0-5, Rs. 1-7-0, Rs. 1-6-7 and Rs. 1-3-11 respectively. The daily basic wage of coolies was Re. 0-6-10 and their net earnings was Re. 0-10-4 while the corresponding figures for female coolies were Re. 0-4-9 and Re. 0-9-0. Sixty-four houses were built, providing accommodation to 7 per cent of the workmen. The rest were given housing materials to construct their huts and were provided with water taps and electric lights. Welfare work consisted of a well-equipped dispensary in charge of a full-time doctor, compounder, nurse and dressing boy with free medical aid for all the workmen. A recreation room was provided with radio and reading room facilities.

(2) *Andhra Cement Co. Ltd., Bezwada* : At Bezwada in Kistna District there was a cement company belonging to the Andhra Cement Co. Ltd., which started in 1940. The total number of workers employed directly and paid in 1946 was 231. Contract labour was employed for unskilled work such as carrying of raw materials, loading and unloading of cement, etc. The company had no control over the conditions of work and wages of the contractors' labour. Labour employed was mostly local and recruited directly by the manager.

(3) *Wages* : The occupation of burners was the highest paid, the average daily wage being Rs. 2-5-2 ; other skilled and semi-skilled workers received an average wage of Re. 1-0-0 to Rs. 1-8-11 per day, male coolies getting about 8 annas per day and female coolies annas six. Dearness allowance was paid at a flat rate of Rs. 10 per month to all the workers except the pet workers and laboratory sample boys who were paid at the rate of Rs. 5 per month. Temporary workmen were not paid any dearness allowance. Permanent employees were granted 15 days' leave per year on average wages after a qualifying period of one year. Except a small dispensary in charge of a whole-time compounder, the company had not undertaken any welfare work. The workers were organised and there was a registered trade union called "The Andhra Cement Factory Employees' Union, Bezwada". In 1946, it had a membership of 110 workmen, but it was not recognised by the management.

(4) *Rice Mills* : Rice milling industry is more developed in Andhra than in other parts of the country as it is one of the rich rice producing centres. Moreover, rice is the staple food of the people here. The former joint Madras State used to rank second in the rice producing tracts.

The biggest rice mills employing more than 100 workmen per day were located in Tadepalligudem, Nidadavolu, Akividu in the West Godavary district and at Gudivada in the Kistna district. Rice mills combining operations of groundnut decortication and oil extraction were equally big at Ammudalavalasa and Vizianagaram in the Vizag district and at Tadepalligudem in the West Godavary district.³¹ Numerically, there were more rice mills in West Godavary, East Godavary and Kistna. In 1942, there were 91 rice mills in West Godavary employing 5,038 workmen, 81 in East Godavary employing about 1,963 workers and 71 in Kistna employing about 1,500.

Labour supply was plentiful and almost all labour employed

in rice mills was local, except in a few places like Gudivada where local labour was not plentiful as the majority of the working class was engaged in agricultural work. Hence, some workers employed in the mills at Gudivada and Bezwada originally belonged to the Nizam's Government. Similarly, a part of labour in Guntur immigrated from Ongole and Palnad taluks and workers in Tenali came from Narasaraopeta, Palnad, and from distant districts of Kurnool and Nellore. Workers in the districts of West and East Godavary belonged to the respective localities alone.

As there was no dearth of labour, recruitment was usually direct except in places like Bezwada where the mill employer was guided by a supervisor and two separate Mistris for the selection of the piece-rated and time-rated unskilled workers. Though the Mistry was paid the same wage as other workers, he was paid special gratuities by the management from time to time. The workmen also had to tip him once or twice a month.

The system of recruiting piece-rated workmen in some centres had peculiarities about it. In some centres of the East Godavary district, namely, Rajahmundry, Cocanada and Tuni, the Kata workers in each centre formed themselves into '*jattu*' (group) with a Mistry as its head. Whenever a worker wanted to join the '*jattu*' he was admitted only on a payment of Rs. 30 which was equally shared among all the members of the group including the incoming member. This served as a caution money and was returned to the worker whenever he leaves the '*jattu*' with the consent of the other members.³²

All the workers in rice mills skilled or unskilled were considered temporary except the staff on monthly wages. The system of giving the mills on lease, as in Bezwada, Tenali, Guntur and other places, had also some adverse effects on the continuity of service of the workers. During the time lag that took place between the new contractor undertaking the lease and the old contractor going out, the workers were not paid either by the outgoing or by the incoming leaseholder.

As rice mills were small in size and seasonal in character, the employment was not continuous. No regular service records were ever maintained. Almost all the mills in West Godavary and many in other districts worked multiple shifts. But, the provisions of the Factories Act were rarely observed. In some mills, work was carried on as a continuous process. Sundays

were declared as holidays, but some were found to be working even on Sundays with the permission of the Grain Purchasing Officer. In some centres, where the mills were busy they were not closed even in festival days and only some shifts were dropped. No records of overtime work were maintained in any rice mill since overtime work not paid for at all. Where the wage rates of casual workers were very low, the same worker permitted himself to be engaged in both the shifts, as work in one shift did not enable him to make both ends meet.³³

Ventilation and sanitation in the rice mills were very unsatisfactory. "They are housed in small, old, unsuitable buildings. . . . Only a few of the mills are electrically lighted. . . . Sanitary rules are observed only in name. . . . The entire premises of some mills are filthy. The flooring needs repair. Drains are full of dirt. . . . Ashes of husk came out of the chimney. . . . There is hardly any moving space in the mill as it is occupied with bags of paddy and rice. In no mill are there any rest shelters or canteens."³⁴

There were no grades of wages or scales of pay either for the daily-rated or monthly-rated employees. The wage rates were increased from time to time whenever the employer was persuaded to do so by the trade union or the local authorities. Some workers were paid by the piece work and some others time rates. Generally, all the piece-rated workers were males and their work was heavier. The piece-rate rose by 25 per cent over the pre-war rates. The piece-rates in some centres like Tenali and Tadepalligudem were very low. Among piece-rated workers, the drying batch earned more than the 'Kata' batch on an average, since the work done by the former was more difficult.^{35a} A worker belonging to a 'Kata' batch earned on an average between Re. 0-8-0 and Re. 1-0-0 per day for about 14 days in a month, while a worker belonging to the boiling and drying section earned between Re. 0-10-0 and Rs. 1-5-0 per day for about 20 days a month. Hence, they had to supplement their earnings by seeking work elsewhere. The employers in East and West Godavary districts paid them a minimum wage of Re. 1-0-0 per day on all days worked by them, irrespective of the prevailing low piece-rates. Hence, 'Kata' workers in centres like Rajahmundry, Palacole, and Nidadavole were much better off than those in other centres.³⁵ Among the monthly paid staff, the Mistry earned the maximum. Next came the drivers, the shellerman, the fireman, the hullerman and watch-

man in order.

The labour had organised itself into unions, but some of the unions were not registered and not very powerful. There was a union of rice mill workers in Gudivada having 350 members. The subscription was 1½ pies in every rupee earned and the fund was used to meet expenditure during strikes and towards funeral expenses. There was a jattu workers' union with a strength of 800 at Rajahmundry and another of the same size at Cocanada. A similar trade union existed in Tenali too. The 'Kata' workers in East and West Godavary have organised themselves with a total membership of 1,400.³⁶ Where the trade unions were strong, a large degree of standardization of wages had been achieved.

Most of the rice mill workers were indebted due to irregular employment and low wages. Even the mills which were working provide employment only for ten days in the month. Almost all the casual workers were found to be indebted to the extent of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per head at the time of the survey of the Labour Investigation Committee. Even the engine workers were found to be indebted to the extent of Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 per head.

The working of the labour laws was found to be in a most deplorable state by the Labour Investigation Committee. In the words of the Committee, "the limit of working hours is not strictly followed. . . . A weekly holiday is observed only if it is known that the Factory Inspector is touring in that area. . . . The provisions of the Act regarding working hours, intervals, spread over and over time are in most cases infringed. . . . The attendance registers were not maintained properly. The provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act and Maternity Benefit Act were not at all respected. While accidents were hushed up, the employer refused to pay maternity benefit on the pretext the woman worker had not satisfied the qualifying period of a month."³⁷

(5) *Jute Mills* : There are two jute mills in Andhra—one at Chittivalasa, employing about 3,000 persons and the other at Nellimarla, employing about 2,000 workers. These two factories account for about 77 per cent of the total labour force employed in the jute mills in South India.³⁸

Chittivalasa is a village in Bhimlipatam taluk in the Vizag district with a population of about 5,000 persons. It is practically a jute village. Jute is grown in its vicinity, but because

of its poor quality only a small percentage of it is used by the factory, the rest being obtained from Bengal.³⁹

The factory had 13,864 spindles and 5,000 power looms. In January 1944, the number of workers employed was 3,030, out of which 470 only were women. Only 30 to 40 workers were engaged through contractors mostly for bringing jute to the factory and for packing gunnies. The management had no control over the work and wages of the contract labour.

Labour was mostly local and was recruited directly. Absenteeism varied from 10 to 15 per cent, but there was very little labour turnover as there were no alternative sources of employment nearby. All the workers on the muster were treated as permanent. There was no regular system of apprenticeship, but in the weaving department new recruits were given training for two or three months and were paid learner's wages of about As. 5½ per day plus bonus. The factory was well-ventilated and lighted. Three spacious rest sheds fitted with water taps were provided for the workers. The basic wages were increased by 10 per cent after the outbreak of the war in 1939. The time-rated workers consisted of jute selectors, jute cutters, softener feeders and receivers, teaser feeders and receivers, breaker feeders and receivers, drawing feeders and receivers, rovers, roving shifters, spindlers, beamers, weavers and coolies. The average net earnings for a month of 25 days ranged from Rs. 17-9-0 to Rs. 25-9-7 per head.⁴⁰ A cash dearness allowance of Re. 1 per month was increased to Rs. 2 from 1944. About 25 per cent of the workers were housed by the Company.

The welfare work of the factory consisted of 2 dispensaries—one within the factory and the other outside. Free medical aid was given to the workers and their families. The factory had erected a creche with a number of cradles for the female workers' children.

The provisions of the Factories Act were strictly observed. The labour force was stable and wage level was almost similar to that in Bengal mills. The workers were comparatively free from debts.

Nellimarla : There is another jute mill at Nellimarla in Vizag district. It was established in 1921. The mill had about 3,800 spindles and 365 looms. It employed 2,028 workers—1,736 males and 292 females in 1944. The factory had also a badli force of 300 to work in place of absentees. The workers came from the

surrounding villages and recruitment was direct. There was no apprenticeship except to weavers as in the case of the other jute mill. The service conditions and welfare provisions were equally satisfactory. There was a dispensary, in addition to the two welfare clinics and another maternity home in the workers' colony. Provision was also made for a creche, canteen, recreation club and two football clubs. The categories of workers were the same as in the other mill and the wages for 23 days per month period ranged from Rs. 16-14-9 to Rs. 37-10-3 per head. From a Wage Census conducted by the Labour Investigation Committee, it was found that 38.37 per cent were in receipt of less than annas eight per day, 24.53 per cent received between annas eight to annas twelve per day, 18.89 per cent, between annas twelve to rupee one per day and 18.21 per cent above rupee one per day.⁴¹

(6) *Sugar Factories*⁴² : There are sugar factories in Vuyyur, Samalkot and Nellikuppam. One of these is a seasonal factory and other two are perennial factories. The total labour employed in all the three factories in 1945 came to 1,788. Workers are classified as permanent and temporary. Temporary workers were terminated without any notice while one month's notice was required on either side in the case of permanent workers. Permanent workers were also entitled to get six holidays with pay, seven days' sick leave with pay, six days' privilege leave with pay and free medical treatment.⁴³

The absenteeism was greater in the harvest season. Wages and dearness allowance were paid together. 57.1 per cent of the workers earned between Re. 1-0-0 and Rs. 1-4-0 per day. The earnings between Re. 0-8-0 and Rs. 1-8-0 covered 96.4 per cent of the total sample and hardly 0.8 per cent workers earned more than Rs. 2-0-0 per day. Most of the workers were found to be indebted as their earnings were inadequate to support large families.

The sanitary conditions were on the whole satisfactory. Workers in all these three factories were organised. They have their own trade unions, but only one of them was recognised by the management.⁴⁴

(7) *Manganese Mining and Manufacturing* : The origin of Manganese mining in India dates back to 1892 when manganese quarrying was started in Vizagapatam.⁴⁵ Upto 1929, India was the leading producer of manganese in the world and since then it has been second only to the U.S.S.R. in respect of production..

The details with regard to manganese production and its importance in the mineral wealth of the Andhra districts was separately dealt with later on. Here, attention is mainly drawn to the labour aspects of the industry, particularly with reference to Sandur State, which is rich in manganese ore. "In view of the high grade iron and manganese ores and the possibility of cheap electric power from the Tungabhadra project, which is within a score of miles from the State, conditions are worth favourable for the development of a steel or ferro-manganese industry, especially as the manganese ores contain comparatively low phosphorous content."⁴⁶

The General Sandur Mining Company Limited was started to work the mineral deposits of the State from 1912. The production and employment were at a peak level in 1939, when the output was 1,22,596 tons and the number of workers employed was 1,157. But, by 1944, the production as well as the employment of labour fell to 652 tons and 28 workers. Contractors used to recruit 50 per cent of the labour which used to come from outside the State. Most of the imported workers used to come from Cuddapah, Kurnool and Raichur. The contractors used to be given advances by the company sometimes upto Rs. 1,000 and they in turn gave advances ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 to their gangmen.

The rate paid to contractors for quarrying ore upto 1940 was from Rs. 1-4-0 to Rs. 2-0-0 per ton. In 1940, it was reduced to As. 12 per ton. The difference between the contract rate and the wages paid by the contractors calculated at As. 6 to As. 7 for men and As. 4 to As. 5 for women was made good by the company to the contractors. The management never saw that the contractors' workers were paid actually these wages. In December 1944, the company quarried about 5,000 tons by employing workers directly on wages of As. 10 per day and a dearness allowance of Rs. 3-8-0 per month. From 1st March 1945, the company introduced fresh wage rates of As. 8 per day to headmen, As. 7 per day to the male coolies and As. 5 per day to the female coolies with a varying dearness allowance from As. 3 to 1½ to males and Re. 0-2-6 to Re. 0-1-0 to females.

Only a single shift used to be worked commencing at 8 a.m. and closing at 6 p.m. with an hour's interval. The imported workers used to be provided with housing. From 1938, the company provided 3 doctors and three dispensaries, one in each mine.

(8) *Mica Mining and Manufacturing*⁴⁷: A discussion regarding the availability of mica in the Andhra districts and its importance for industrial development is referred to in the last chapter, while here it is attempted to give a few details regarding the employment and production of mica from the labour angle.

In Andhra, mica mining and manufacturing is prevalent in Nellore for the last sixty years. There are about 200 mines, employing about 12,000 to 15,000 men for underground and surface work.⁴⁸ But the industry had not been organised or developed on sound and scientific lines as a number of individual miners had been engaged on a speculative basis.

Most of the workers except the clerical staff were temporary. During the harvesting seasons, there was acute shortage of labour and no mining operations took place. No proper musters were maintained by the employers. The wage position had improved compared to the pre-war period (second World War). The wages of blasting mistries had increased from pre-war average of about Re. 0-8-0 to an average of Re. 1-0-0 per day by 1945. The wages of jumpers and drillers had risen from Re. 0-6-0 per day to an average of Re. 0-13-0 per day and the wages of male coolies and female coolies from Re. 0-5-0 and Re. 0-4-0 to Re. 0-9-6 and Re. 0-8-0 respectively. Graders, sorters and dressers, who were getting about Re. 0-5-0 per day, get on an average Re. 0-8-0 per day. The wages paid to different workers in the same category differed from one person to another according to physical strength, skill, experience and in the case of cutters and sorters, the nature and quality of mica supplied to them also. The piece-rate per pound for cutters and sorters varied generally from Re. 0-0-6 to Re. 0-3-0 according to the quality of the mica handled.⁴⁹ The rise in average daily income of workers during 1939 to 1944 was between 50 and 125 per cent.

Mica factories were concentrated in the Nellore district, particularly in Gudur and Chennur and in a number of villages around those centres. There were about 100 factories each employing more than 50 workers. Sorters and splitters were the main categories. Some sorters were paid on a monthly basis and some at daily rates. The mistries were paid on a monthly basis. The usual range of salaries for male sorters was from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per mensem. Bengali sorters were employed in high salaries of Rs. 50 or Rs. 55. Women sorters were paid

from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 14-0-0 a month. Daily rates for men sorters ranged from Re. 0-5-0 to Re. 0-10-0, the most usual rate being Re. 0-6-6 or Re. 0-7-0 per day. Daily rates for women ranged from Re. 0-4-0 to Re. 0-6-0, the most usual rate being Re. 0-6-0. The piece rates paid for splitting were Re. 0-2-0 per lb. of ordinary loose and Re. 0-2-6 to Re. 0-3-0 per lb. of dusted loose.⁵⁰

In general, the working conditions in these factories were unsatisfactory and welfare activities were totally absent.

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CHAPTER XII

NATURAL RESOURCES

Forests, Fisheries and Minerals

The Andhra Districts are rich in their natural resources. There are abundant forests, fisheries and minerals in Circars and Ceded Districts adding to the natural wealth of the country.

Forests

India is famous for her forests and philosophy. From the woodlands flowed the crystal streams and sermons that spread throughout the world. Forests are useful to prevent soil erosion, to help climatic conditions, as good reserves for fuel, pasture and timber. Wood is only next to food in the daily requirements of human life. Our whole civilisation is built on wood. From the cradle to the coffin in some shape or other it serves as a convenience or necessity. We till our soil with a wooden plough, we want a cart to take it to the market, to sell the produce and get its money. We want toys for our children, musical instruments for melodious strains of music and certain barks for tanning purposes. The natural forest resources consist of an accumulated capital lying idle and awaiting the hand of a rational manager to do its duty as a product of continuously higher revenue.¹

In Madras, the first Forest Department was created as early as 1856, but there was no vigorous forest policy calculated to develop forests as in Bombay or other parts of India. Specially, lands were not reserved as forest areas nor was adequate attention paid to maintain the State interest in the maintenance, preservation and utilization of forests for a long time.² The consequence had been an increase of cattle and population in most parts of the Presidency; denudation had made during progress which greatly aggravated the evil effects of the late years of drought and famine. In 1863, Mr. Cleghorn who was then the Conservator of Forests for the Punjab, urged the necessity of early demarcation of government and village forests in the Madras Presidency. But, the Madras Government paid no heed to these recommendations. In September 1869, the Government of India impressed upon the Government of Madras,

the necessity of early demarcation of forests and their efficient protection to secure a permanent supply of fuel for the railways. The Madras Government heard for the first time from Col. Beddore, the Conservator of Forests in Cuddapah District, that there were many extensive areas of forests under government jurisdiction amounting to an extent of 1,728 acres of plantation, planned out at an expense of Rs. 2,41,730. An area of 16,830 acres at an expense of Rs. 25,830 was laid out, but it was not efficiently protected, with the result that the same was burnt and grazed over by cattle several times.³ The areas of forests in four taluks of Cuddapah were valuable and extensive and needed great care, protection and demarcation. This constant neglect attracted the attention of the Secretary of State for India in 1887 and he called forth for a vigorous action on the part of the Madras Government in the matter of improving their forests.⁴. The Board of Revenue had reported to them about valuable and extensive forests situated in four taluks extending over 1,150 square miles. About 1728 acres were established at a cost of Rs. 41,730 and seven reserves aggregating to 16,830 acres or 26.3 square miles were demarcated and partially protected with an outlay of Rs. 25,830. In the remainder of the forests, fuel was cut for Railways and during the previous 6½ years from 1870, 86,662 tons were disposed of for Rs. 1,94,064 or at less than Rs. 2-4-0 per ton. The Madras Government preferred to consider "whether the general conservancy of forest area under the operation of liberal enactments would not be more expedient and economical, whether in the interests of the State or the people than the formation of close reserves for fuel".⁵ They did not come to any conclusion about these matters ; and made a beginning by sanctioning the closing of the existing reserves and the prevention of entrance into them of cattle, sheep or goat for grazing purposes.⁶ The Cuddapah forests contained some valuable products like black-wood, yepi, sanders, mango and other common trees. Teak was found rarely and of good size.⁷ Teak was grown in Seshachalam in Kurnool and Nalla Malais. By 1889, the area under forests in Kurnool was 1,58,711 acres or 33% of the area in the District. Eramalais were known for growing firewood while the Nallamalais were known for their pastures for cattle.⁸ In 1876-78 famine, the private enterprise started a trade in fodder by establishing depots at the foot for the receipt of hill-grass which was supplied in head loads by the Lambadies and other coolies which was

again sold to the public at a profit by cart loads.⁹ In Cuddapah, excessive supply of wood, greater than demand was supposed to be responsible for the cheap costs. Codur and Sandur continued to have the main plantations.¹⁰ In Ganjam, the main forest produce consisted of wax, honey, roots, fruits, galnuts, turmeric and fibres.¹¹ In Kistna and Masulipatam, seignorage was being collected on the wood and fuel removed from the forests at a rate of Rs. 5-8-0 for 1,000 lbs.¹² A tax on the sale of forest produce was being collected in the Godavary.¹³ Reserves were on the upper Godavary at Rekapalli, Bhadrachalam, Marugudam, wherefrom great supplies of teak timber flowed down the river to Rajahmundry.¹⁴ Reserves at Rekapalli alone were to the tune of 250 square miles.¹⁵ The Central Provinces Forest Rules were made applicable to the Madras forests in 1874 with a three-fold classification of forests. In the first, the felling of teak was prohibited, in the second the varieties of timber were to be cut with permission while the third were left for the cultivation by the hill tribes.¹⁶ In Nellore, the total area of reserve demarcated for grazing was 97,080 acres, in Kandukur, Kavali and Eudur by 1882.¹⁷ In Ganjam, there were small forests in the three government taluks of (i) Palconda, (ii) Sarvasidhi and (iii) Golconda. The forests in the first taluk were classified as 'Agency Tracts', in the second as 'Reserve Forests' and in the third as 'Reserves for good timber'.¹⁸ In Godavary, there were no forests in Amalapuram, Bhimavaram, Ramachandrapuram and Tanuku. In Ellore, there were forests in Chintalapudi. In Yernagudam, there were few other blocks. Rajahmundry had always been rich in areas like Goomsoor for its timber forests and the reserved land left for cultivation. In Kistna, there were only a few coarse plantation and coastal forests. There were reserve blocks in Bandar, Gudiwada, Repalle, Bapatla, Venukonda, Nandigama and Bezwada. Thus, these four Circars continued to be the great timber producing centres of the east coast. In Hindupur, Gopideverapalli and Kudur forest reserves extended over 1,920 acres noted for their teak, *valinada*, *tandra*, *clingara*, etc.¹⁹ In Anantapur, Janavari-palli, Agraharam and Venglam Chennu reserves were the main forest areas extending over 4,14,218 acres by 1888.²⁰ The forest produce collected from Yekayaram forests used to be sold by hillmen to middlemen who paid the seignorage at the time of export from Rampa.²¹ Area of the conserved forests in 1888 in Bellary was 1,04,227 acres, besides forests in Harpanahalli

and Alur.²² Avaram bark was largely available in Anantapur forests and was sold annually at Rs. 860.²³ Bellary was full of fodder reserves in Jitnakatla, Janjikalgatta, Aligalanda and Uchingadrog amounting to an area of 44,615 acres by 1888.²⁴ In 1889, the proceeds of the grazing receipt came to Rs. 947 in Godavary, Rs. 403 in Bellary, Rs. 16 in Anantapur, Rs. 3,817 in Kistna, Rs. 12,784 in Nellore, Rs. 1,227 in Cuddapah and Rs. 4,888 in Kurnool.²⁵ The total departmental sale of timber from the northern forests in 1887-88 was great and the rate per ton on an average for Timber, Firewood, Bamboos, Sandalwood and minor produce was Rs. 19-2-11, Rs. 3-12-4, Rs. 2-0-0, Rs. 385-2-6 and Rs. 62-8-6 respectively. At these rates, 2,456 tons of timber, 6,375 tons of firewood, 1½ tons of bamboos and 76½ tons of minor forest produce were sold from the Northern Circle.

The ledger accounts of the forest produce revealed surplus in all the districts. If forests could be protected from fires, illicit grazing and wanton felling, reproduction would follow satisfactorily without artificial planting or sowing. By 1889, the results of the forest working in the Andhra Districts²⁶ showed a surplus of Rs. 70,132 in Cuddapah, Rs. 42,047 in Godavary, Rs. 40,699 in Kistna, Rs. 38,154 in Kurnool, Rs. 21,333 in Nellore, Rs. 5,625 in Anantapur, while it was a deficit of Rs. 1,981 for Bellary, Rs. 2,298 for Vizag and Rs. 20,036 for Ganjam.

Though there was a gradual increase from 1886-87 onwards in the administrative expenditure on forests in the Northern Circle, still, there were good surpluses. While the income from forest produce was Rs. 5,52,248 in 1886-87 and Rs. 5,64,723 in 1887-88, the expenditure was Rs. 4,34,966 and Rs. 4,53,794, thus leaving a surplus of Rs. 1,17,282 and Rs. 1,10,929 for these two years respectively.²⁷ The surplus which fell down to Rs. 90,000 in 1892 again rose to Rs. 2,77,595 by 1894.

In the Godavary forests, reserves of Coringa and Gollavararam were yielding annually a revenue of Rs. 45,000 from 1887 to 1890, and increased to Rs. 75,000 from 1891 and 1892 onwards.

Large quantities of timber were felled by Rampa merchants for sale at Rajahmundry where it was brought on a payment of seignorage.

Minor forest produce from these forests consisted of Tamarind, Gallnuts, Soapnuts, Jogi leaves, Cleariji Nuts, Marking Nuts, Honey and Tangedu Bark, yielding a total seignorage of Rs. 1,391-14-0 during 1894.

The inquiries made by the Collectors at this time revealed

in Godavary and Vizag that hill-men proper would not be much affected by the exemption of minor forest produce from seigniorage. In Vizagapatam, the seigniorage was paid on minor forest produce in certain zamindaries as a matter of course and without any complaint from hill-men. These hill-men were professional collectors of produce for the middlemen and merchants in the towns who engage them in their service and market the goods themselves.²⁸ The financial results of the forests in the Northern Circle by 1892-93 and 1893-94 continued to be good, leaving a surplus of Rs. 2,77,595.

The limit of 300 acres as the area adopted for each reserve in Madras by 1895, was considered 'not too small by the Government of India'.²⁹ In Bengal, a limit of one square mile was suggested and the Government of India was inclined to regard even that as if anything low as a minimum. The objections for too small blocks were two-fold. In the first place, the smaller each block was, the larger the number in order to provide for the requirements of people, and secondly, the greater was the area protected and the length of the boundary across which trespass was to be prohibited. In both cases, the opportunities for the extortion on the part of the underlings were increased, to minimise which, was the object of the Government of India.³⁰

The best forests were those in the Godavary Agency. The trade in timber on the Godavary was prevalent from the earliest time to the British period from 1786 onwards, and continued even till today.³¹ Rekapally, Bhadrachalam and Rampa were the Chief Agencies. The Boyas, Koyas and Hill Reddies were employed to cut this hill timber. When the forest conservancy was first begun in 1874, the permit system was producing the highest revenue.³² In 1876-77, forests of 138 miles under conservancy were reserved. The average annual revenue between 1874 and 1882 was Rs. 21,000 while expenditure was Rs. 3,800. Still Mr. Birlu, the Deputy Conservator of Forests, reported unfavourably on these reserves. Dr. D. Brandis who was then the Adviser to the Government of Madras on future forest policy recommended the abolition of the forest conservancy without introducing even the Forest Act. Mr. J. S. Camble, who was subsequently deputed, increased the forest reserve to 538 square miles and most of this was notified under the Forest Act by 1888-89, except the large Rekapalli Hill reserve of 93,500 acres which was not notified till 1896.

Reservation work proceeded quickly. Forests in the Yella-

varam Division were reserved in 1893, while reservation of forests in Polavaram was delayed till 1899. The area of the other forests reserved in square miles came to 13.0 square miles in Amalapuram, 460 square miles in Bhadrachalam, 86 square miles in Cocanada, 72 square miles in Peddapuram, 111 square miles in Polavaram, 34 square miles in Rajahmundry and 166 square miles in Yellavaram, in all 942 square miles.

Seignorage on the collections of forest produce and grazing receipts were being collected regularly. In 1900-01, the forest revenue amounted to Rs. 5,500, in 1901-02 to Rs. 9,400, in 1902-03 to Rs. 10,800 and in 1903-04 to Rs. 6,700. Timber was always carried down the Godavary while inspection Tanas were appointed to check the permits.³³ Casurina plantations were started in about 85 acres, while experiments with other foreign samples were not successful. Better-class forests existed in Polavaram and Yellavaram. In Yellavaram, there were 47 square miles of good forests with fairly large timber, 3' to 5' in girth. The small timber was available in an area of 96 square miles. Rampa forests were not reserved and fuel was allowed on permits. Forests in Bhadrachalam were of three types, viz., (i) the Rekapalli Range, (ii) the Mavorigudem Teak Range and (iii) the Bhadrachalam Range. The best forests lie in the accessible hills of Rekapalli Range. The chief markets for timber are Cocanada, Rajahmundry, Bezwada, Masulipatam, Ellore, Narasapur, Ramachandrapuram and Amalapuram. Bulk of the revenue and forest produce came from Yellavaram and Rampa forests. Polavaram and Bhadrachalam produced very little. Tamarind, gall-nuts, wax, honey, soap-nuts, etc., went to the markets of Cocanada and Rajahmundry. Large quantities of nuxvomica and gall-nuts were sent to London and Hamburg, wax to London, Colombo, Calcutta and Bombay, horns to London and France, skins to Madras, shikai to Madras, Cuddalore, Tuticorin, etc. By 1904-05, the forest revenue was to the tune of Rs. 2 lakhs annually, of which Rs. 56,000 was derived from the sale of bamboo, Rs. 43,000 from the sale of minor forest produce, Rs. 35,000 from timber, Rs. 27,000 from firewood and charcoal and Rs. 16,000 from grazing fees.³⁴

In Cuddapah, there was systematic and large conservancy from the passing of the Forest Act in 1882, mainly in Veligondla, Seshachalam, Palconda, Lankamalai and Nallamalai.³⁵ The extent of forests in 1911 was 221 square miles in Veligondla, 327 square miles in Seshachalam, 358 square miles in Palconda, 212

square miles in Erramalai, 193 square miles in Nallamalai and 506 square miles in isolated blocks, in all coming to 1,817 square miles. The main type of timbers were *devadari*, *muskti*, *chila*, *neredu*, *tadi*, etc. Red sanders was the most valuable for house posts, verandah pillars coming to Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per pair of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet. It was also used for railway sleepers and was available at Pullampeta which was $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Rajampeta Railway Station. The nursery was commenced in 1872. Reddipalli fuel plantations were commenced in 1869-70 in an area of 924 acres. From 1882-1901, timber, fuel and minor forest produce were extracted by contractors for the Forest Department. In 1908, there were some working plans for fuel supply from East Cuddapah, Ballapalle, Rajampeta, Pullampeta, Badwel, Lankamalai, Porumamilla, Nandalur, Vontimitta, Palkonda, Bilasa, Lastkalmalli, Bulurmel, Sidhout and Kanamallopalie. But by 1912 the working of felling was handed over to the contractors. In 1909, the timber working plan for Seshachalam Hills in the East Division was sanctioned. An attempt to work it was made in 1912, but the fellings were stopped in 1913. Sandalwood plantations were also tried ever since. The forests in Cuddapah were classified into three categories, (i) terai fuel forests, (ii) the red sanders forests and (iii) the forests of sandal, etc., worked for fuel, timber and sandalwood. Among the minor forest produce, bamboos were auctioned while free removal of grass was permitted except where it had got a marketable value when it was leased for sale. Grazing on permit was allowed in all the reserves on the following rates : sheep Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$, cow or bull Rs. 3-0-0 and buffaloe Rs. 6-0-0.³⁶

Conservancy was begun in Bellary only since the passing of the Forest Act in 1882. One-seventh of the total forest revenue was derived from sale of timber and bamboos.³⁷ The area under forest was 59 square miles in Adoni, 25 square miles in Alur, 29 square miles in Bellary, 46 square miles in Hadagalli, 86 square miles in Harpanehalli, 209 square miles in Kudligi, 130 square miles in Hospet and 40 square miles in Rayadrug.

Besides these, the Bellary forest authorities used also to control and work 40,000 acres of forest on the Sandur Hills which were leased from the Rajah of that State in 1882 at an annual rent of Rs. 10,000. The sale of the forest produce was not a success in the beginning. A depot was kept at Toragallu, but the demand for fuel and timber from them was not large at Adoni town and the Railways could be cheaply supplied from

the Nallamalai forests in Kurnool through which the line passes, while in Bellary town, there was competition from the forests of the whole Inam villages adjoining the Sandur State. In 1892, an experimental station was started at Kuppigallu to ascertain what trees and plantation could be grown with the greatest success in the red and mixed soils.³⁸

By 1896-97, the total percentage reserve area of forests in the Andhra Districts excluding Zamindary and Inam villages was 12.53 in Ganjam, 30.13 in Vizag, 24.51 in Godavary, 20.72 in Kistna, 34.28 in Kurnool, 13.54 in Bellary, 15.24 in Anantapur, 31.18 in Cuddapah and 16.51 in Nellore.³⁹

In 1897-98, "the revenue under usufruct of toddy yielding trees in reserved forests and government waste lands was small, the realisations were not satisfactory. In Anantapur, the revenue realised was only Rs. 11,550 against Rs. 20,553 in the previous year, the Vizianagaram Forest Rules gave no trouble ; Kurnool forests worked satisfactorily".⁴⁰ By 1900, the Forest Rules in Cuddapah, Kurnool, Godavary, were working fairly well and no complaints were received while the privileges allowed were enjoyed by the public.⁴¹

There was a steady increase in the reserved forests and the exploitation was carried on mainly by means of fellings which were classified as clear or regenerated fellings. Amounts realized by the sale of grass rose from Rs. 5,10,541 in 1900-01 to Rs. 5,40,068 later on. There was an increase in Kurnool and Anantapur due to the large permits given for grazing. The collection of general produce was leased to contractors, classified under four heads, timber, fuel, bamboos and minor forest produce. The yield was more than 1900-01 under every head except timber, the yield of which fell by 11,567 cubic feet to 32,11,888 although there was an increase in the quantity removed by the purchasers. There was a rise of 38.9% in the yield of bamboo which rose from 29,95,58,554 canes in 1900-01 to 3,92,17,618. This increase was due to the increase in the sugar cane cultivation in the Godavary.⁴² The natural reproduction of the forest growth was quite good. Measures were taken to encourage shrub jungles in Kistna and other districts. Further, arrangements were made in several districts for the supply of forest produce to meet the wants of the people including permits for the sale and use of timber and firewood. In Kistna, timber for agricultural purposes was cut and sold departmentally in auction. In Kurnool and Cuddapah, agricultural and building materials were manufac-

tured departmentally and offered to the public.⁴³ By 1908-09, in most of the districts, the timber transit worked satisfactorily throughout the year and endeavours were made to supply forest produce to meet the wants of the people by maintaining departmental depots for the sale of fuel and bamboos.⁴⁴ In Ganjam, most of the minor produce was left for the consumption of khonds. In Vizag, the hill-men were allowed to collect and sell the produce to merchants in weekly markets.⁴⁵ In 1912, the Madras Government appointed a Forest Committee to enquire into the forest condition and to make suitable recommendation. Nellore and Ganjam are good cattle centres. Anantapur is a typical Deccan tract where the question of reafforestation of barren hills could be studied.⁴⁶ Many witnesses before the Forest Committee complained against the grazing fees, not so much against their imposition, as against the way in which they were collected. In Nellore, ryots were prepared to pay even highest grazing fee, if proper facilities were provided for their cattle. Meadows were charged at the rate of Re. 1 to Rs. 8 per head of cattle. In Shrotriem villages in Nellore under conditions very similar to those prevailing in Government forests, a charge of Rs. 1-8-0 a head was made per cattle, As. 8 per local cattle and Re. 1 for local ploughing bullocks. In Vinukonda of Guntur, Rs. 4 for each pair of bullocks was paid without a murmur.⁴⁷ In Guntur, 'Pullari' (grazing tax) was being levied from 1787. In 1856, it amounted to a lakh of rupees,⁴⁸ while in Nellore, it was more than a lakh and half of rupees. In Bellary, Kurnool, Vizagapatam, Cuddapah, taxes on forest produce of various kinds such as wax, honey, fuel, grazing for sheep and goats, gum and lac were levied.⁴⁹ Some suggestions to discontinue the grazing fees levied in forest areas were discomfited by the Forest Committee on the plea that they were in force for thirty years without any protest from the ryots and there was no reason for their abolition. In Guntur, cattle are sent to forests for grazing for several months while the crops are on the ground for the simple reason that there is not enough ground for them in the village.⁵⁰ The local ryots nearest to any forest reserve were given priority for their cattle before the cattle of other villages were allowed to graze. This right was recognized by government as early as 1895.⁵¹ Upto 1890, the Madras forests were divided into three categories as (i) Reserved forests, (ii) Protected forests and (iii) Unreserves. After 1890, the division was into Reserved and Unreserved forests.⁵² Before

this, an effort was also made to constitute village forests about 1886.⁵³ In Madras, the whole of the area brought under control was managed by the Forest Department. The Madras Government observed "if it is desirable to protect any area at all, it is necessary to reserve it absolutely and the experiment of placing the management and control of grazing areas in the hands of the village communities had been tried already and failed".⁵⁴ There were periodic migrations of cattle all over Andhra. Every year, especially in the crop season, herds migrated from the eastern taluks of Nellore to the western forests and went to 'Kanchi' which their owners used to take on an yearly payment. Others were grazed on a permit system with a fee per head. From Deltas of Guntur and Kistna there was a similar migration to the eastern Nallamalais of Kurnool for some six months of the year. Similarly, cattle from the eastern districts used to go as far as the Lankamalai and Palkonda lines in Cuddapah. All these cattle were kept in the forests in pens.⁵⁵ The Committee observed that Nellore and Ongole were opposed to free open grazing in the forests because of the lack of the system of rotation of crops in those parts.

The Forest Committee suggested a six-fold division of the forests as (i) Reserves to be preserved for cultivation purposes and for the protection of water sources as well as those reserves which are not in close contact with villages and cultivation, (ii) Reserves valuable as producers of timber or fuel, (iii) Fuel plantations like the Casurina on the Coan as in Bapatla, (iv) Reserves which adjoin villages and which while useful for grazing contain tree growth necessary for working in the near future, (v) Reserves mostly useful for grazing, and (vi) Reserves so barren or deteriorated, that they are worthless even for grazing.⁵⁶

Panchayat management of forests was tried twice and given up by 1894. The Government observed : "the village communities cannot be trusted to have the management and control of their grazing areas. The experiment has been tried in the past and has been proved that the grazing rights are often becoming objects of speculation and that the produce itself rapidly deteriorated while the absence of control leads to the formation of faction in each village and the oppression of the party which happens to be the weakest".⁵⁷ But the subsequent administration under the Forest Department too did not bring about any better improvement except incurring colossal expenditure, wide-

spread discontent, annoyance and worry. In the Northern Circars, the Pattadars exercised a wonderful influence in the Panchayat in deciding disputes, though they had no official recognition,⁵⁸ and they were accepted by the villagers. The Forest Committee was in favour of Panchayat management of forests, eliminating the danger of oppression by the wealthier Panchayatdars by a close and efficient supervision of the Revenue Divisional Officer and the District Forest Officer. Hence, it suggested the creation of elected Panchayats with duties to control the grazing in the areas entrusted to them, goat and illicit grazing and fear of fire removal, (ii) to collect grazing revenue to impose fines on recalcitrant fellows to bring them to the path, (iii) to prevent denudation of forest produce and (iv) for the checking and maintaining of boundary lines. It also suggested the fixation of grazing fees amounts on the average of the last five years and opening of government depots for fuel and timber, leaving the extraction to the contractors on account of the terrible frauds in the departmental management. The duties and functions of the District and Forest Officers and Rangers also came under criticism of the Committee. As early as 1905, Mr. Lodge in a note to Government observed, that "the time of the District Forest Officer can be much better employed than in checking stock in depots, controlling retail sales and working out systems for the prevention of frauds as was learned by bitter experience in Guntur. If the time of the Forest Officer is frittered away in supervising the management of retail shops all over the district, at a distance from the forest, they have no time to supervise the subordinates in the forest. Every-day spent by the Forest Officer or Ranger away from the forest gives opportunities to his lower subordinates, to exercise their power of execution. Even if the departmental officials have the time to spare, departmental work is never so efficient as under private contractors."⁵⁹ The Committee was also of the same opinion and endorsed contract method in preference to Governmental control. In Anantapur, there is '*Cassia Carriculata*', a peculiar local staple, useful as green manure. Its bark is useful for tanning. The right to collect this bark is sold annually to the highest private bidders, the amounts ranging to one lakh of rupees and more every year.

There was some improvement in the Forest administration towards the twenties. In 1916-17, out of a total area of 493 square miles, the Northern Circle alone, three large blocks

covered 418 square miles in Godavary itself. The reports regarding forest offences and fire protection were favourable. The gross revenue was Rs. 47.89 lakhs and the expenditure Rs. 27.84 lakhs leaving a surplus of Rs. 19.95 lakhs, highest on record.⁶⁰

In 1920, the output of timber increased by 7,000 tons and specimens of this timber were sent to the London Exhibition in July 1920. The output of fuel rose to 5,49,700 tons, the highest figure on record. Bamboo began to become more and more important source of revenue, the chief centres of departmental extraction were in Kurnool with the aid of Chenchoos. The revenue was Rs. 3.14 lakhs compared to Rs. 3.16 lakhs in the previous year due to the fall of the market price. Sugarcane cultivation raised a heavy demand for timber from the Godavary forests. Hay stocks and Tangedu bark for tanneries commanded excellent reports. Five thousand ninety-four tons of hay, 1,800 tons of bark were annually available in Godavary. The lease for the collection of bark was amounting to Rs. 7.61 lakhs as against Rs. 5.72 lakhs in the previous year.⁶¹ The value of livestock in the forests was also great. In 1920-21 the number of elephants in charge of the department at the beginning of the year were 128, including 4 baggage elephants working in Kurnool and Godavary, 20 elephants added by capture, 2 were borne in captivity, 10 died and 15 were sold, leaving a balance of 125 to the book value of Rs. 3.70 lakhs while the actual sale value was more than Rs. 6 lakhs.⁶²

The quinquenium 1920-25 in contrast to the previous one which was hampered by lack of funds and men registered a distinct advance in the scientific exploitation of the undeveloped forests. The area under control at the beginning and end of the quinquenium showed no marked variation, but important changes were made in the administrative machinery by the Department of Forest Panchayats with the appointment of a Special Panchayat Staff. The Government began to consider the policy as one having a most beneficial effect not only in reducing the possibilities of friction, but also in educating public opinion.⁶³ A saw mill was started in Russelkonda by Parry & Company in 1922 and by 1923, the intake of the logs to the mill was 1,58,000 ft. and from this quantity 53,000 cubic feet of finished timber was turned out.

In 1926-27, in Nellore Yenadis of Sriharikota were under Government employment for collection of minor forest produce. Rewards to the value of Rs. 1,528 in the shape of cloth, rice

and cash were distributed among them for assisting in protection.⁶⁴ The financial results of the working of the forests showed a surplus of Rs. 1,06,638 during the period and the major portion of the revenue was from grazing fields and fuel forests. Guntur was responsible for a surplus of Rs. 1,90,779. Mining lease in Guntur was granted for 70 years. In West, East and South Kurnool, the Chenchus were used for departmental operations. Their cattle were exempt from grazing fees. Chenchu children were taught carpentry and basket-making free of charge at a cost of Rs. 12,050. The slab and stone quarries were leased to 39,050. The surplus revenue from North Kurnool was Rs. 28,137 and from South Kurnool Rs. 29,514. North and South Cuddapah extended extensive grazing facilities. The low rate of 3 annas per cow attracted large numbers from the adjoining districts of Anantapur and Nellore. In Chittoor, the principal timber was sandalwood and revenue surplus was Rs. 11,981.

The Ganjam forests began to hold their own by 1927 and Vizag showed possibilities of expansion in Golconda Agency for reservation and development⁶⁵ with a surplus revenue of Rs. 10,574. In the Upper Godavary, the Koyas and Reddis in the interior forests were assisting the forest subordinates in early burning, fire line tracing, clear felling and were in return allowed free grazing and free removal of minor forest produce. The hillmen in Polavaram and Peddapuram Agencies were granted rewards amounting to Rs. 1,123, but they normally took no trouble in preventing forest fires and in some cases they themselves started them. The surplus of revenue over expenditure was Rs. 1,53,497. The untapped forests of Pattikonda afforded facilities for expansion and the better organization of the bamboo supplies of these and the Rampa forests considerably augmented the revenue.

By 1929-30, the average incidence of grazing in the reserved forests worked out to be 5.7 acres per animal as compared with 5 acres in the previous year, the figure being as low as 2 in the Lower Godavary and 3 in Guntur. Grazing was concentrated in the villages nearer to forests and most easily accessible. Many animals were admitted to reserve forests and a reduction in the grazing incidence was urgently called for.⁶⁶

The financial results of the working of these forests in 1929-30 showed a surplus of Rs. 1,14,810 in Ganjam, Rs. 6,099 in Vizag, Rs. 34,428 in Upper Godavary, Rs. 1,81,908 in Lower Godavary, Rs. 81,501 in Guntur and Rs. 54,273 in Nellore over

expenditure.

The above income was mostly from timber, firewood, bamboos, grazing fees and minor forest produce.

The forest policy was changed with the assumption of the Congress Ministry in Madras in July 1937, particularly in its relation with the general public. A policy of affording increased facilities to ryots living near the departmental forests was inaugurated and followed. From 1938, the grazing fees were reduced by 5 per cent. Free removal of grass by head-loads was permitted in most of the divisions. Removal of head-loads of dead wood was permitted by a nominal payment of six pies.⁶⁷ Free grazing was allowed in areas of fodder scarcity and Ceded Districts. Grass was collected and supplied by the depots at concession rates. Soils holding 10 tons of fodder were left as model fodder reserves in famine areas. Removal of manure leaf was allowed from forests of Chittoor, Nellore, Ellore and Cuddapah. Turnki leaf used in the manufacture of beedies was being leased out in Upper Godavary and West Kurnool. In Kurnool, wood for State farms was also leased. The Yenadis of Sriharikota and Chenchus of Nallamalais are given the right of farming the forest produce, and to have the 'Kumai' method of cultivation.⁶⁸ They were given fertile lands for tree-planting free of all costs, but the land was lent for a period of years on definite condition without the right of sale or mortgage.⁶⁹

Forest Panchayats were entrusted with the management of grazing grounds, auction of minor forest produce, selling of grazing permits, prevention of fires and illicit grazing and goat browsing, repairs of roads, construction of cairons and water pools in the reserves. Forest Tahsildars, Deputy Tahsildars and Revenue Divisional Commissioners were asked to be in charge of supervision of forest Panchayats, but their working in most instances was considered unsatisfactory.⁷⁰ Of late, a retransfer of Forest Panchayat Reserve to Government care began. There were experiments once tried and given up, but repeated again with hopes of better results. From an investigation conducted recently, it was clear that even the management of forest by Government did not improve their working considerably, as late as 1946-47, but the process is going on rapidly.⁷¹

Fisheries

The rivers, the canals and the sea water of Circars and the Ceded Districts and their fresh water tanks abound in rich

supplies of fish which form a part of the food of the people in these parts for centuries.

A rich fish trade was in existence in all the districts for long and several concessions like exemptions of duty on salt sold for fish canning were not unknown facilities to the fishing tribes.⁷²

As early as 1869, efforts were being made to start regular fisheries and develop fishing on systematic lines under Government assistance in Madras.⁷³ Fresh water fisheries were almost universally of considerable value as a flourishing and indigenous supply of wholesome animal food, a subject of great importance in national economy.⁷⁴ The sub-engineer at Dhavaleswaram observed in 1868, "The fish procured at the Anicut formed a great part of the food to many poor classes of people in the late famine years".⁷⁵ The value of the fish in Rajahmundry had doubled ever since 1861 either due to the general value of food to augment the cost in the capture of the fish or to a decreased supply in the rivers. As regards the cost of capture, as coolie-hire had increased, it had increased the cost and in spite of this, the general population getting richer did not mind the increased costs. Kistna River at Bezwada was 1,350 yards wide where the sable fish was available in plenty. For twenty years after the erection of the Anicut the 'sable' were captured in large numbers being unable to continue their ascent past the weir, but thereafter there was a gradual diminution of 'sable' as well as all other kinds of fish and fishermen were complaining that they were not able to meet half the demand.

Before the construction of the Anicut in Rajahmundry, marine species of fish were by no means uncommon as high as the town of Rajahmundry, but now they have been comparatively rare, while large fish were of very infrequent occurrence above the anicut. The price of fish had risen 100 per cent from 1860 to 1868. At Dhavaleswaram, the fishermen complained that the number captured was far inferior to what it used to be and they considered the fisheries to be decreasing evidently after the anicut.⁷⁶ The fisheries were being farmed out to the contractors who lent them at a price to the fishermen. This method proved to be working satisfactorily on the Godavary, because if the contractors raised the rate too high, the fishermen either engaged themselves as boatmen or themselves hired the fisheries. But in Guntur, Kurnool and Bellary, the Government did not consider it advisable to revive the practice of renting the tank

and canal fisheries. In Kistna, the fishermen themselves offered to bid the fisheries by offering Rs. 942 per annum, but the Government refused on the plea that this would be re-imposing a burden on the fishermen which the abolition of the moturpha sought to provide them with. However, the rents of the fisheries from Fasli 1271 to 1277 came to Rs. 33,359-9-0 from Gudivada Collair Lake, Bandar taluk tank, salt creek swamp and Bezwada.

At Masulipatam, mainly three castes were employed in the catching of fish, viz., the Pulla, the Besta and the Udde. The salted fish trade appeared to be insignificant and the article produced was inferior. Its value in the local market was, however, high, being about four annas per pound. In the Bandar taluk, there were 10 places out of which 2 were portions of the river, 6 tanks and 2 small water swamps. If these were allowed to be rented, the income would have doubled as only one-third of the sources were let out and the rent received was not more than Rs. 380 to Rs. 383 from 1863-64 to 1867-68.

In Godavary and Kistna, a general tax of Re. 1-0-0 on every fisherman's family was imposed. Fish catching season attracted additional fishermen to add to the existing men and each earned about 8 annas a day. From 1867, about 3,300 kavadis of fish weighing 14,600 maunds valued at Rs. 7,800 were annually taken below the anicut. As the fisheries were only partially let, they offered a good illustration of the effect of indiscriminate fishing. It was considered more economical and beneficial to let out all fisheries at the same time, restricting the size of the nets, prohibiting fishing except with rods and lines within 100 yards of all anicuts, dams, locks or masonry works extending across the streams or canals of fresh water and the construction of a fish pan over the anicut. The Collair Lake in Ellore was formerly of salt water, but with the fresh water of the Bardwan river flowing into it, it became a fresh water fishery. The fish from this was being sold in Ellore, yielding about Rs. 1,700 annually.⁷⁷

These efforts of Dr. Day together with the work of Mr. H. S. Thomas, a Madras civilian, began rousing considerable interest in the matter of fisheries for increasing food supply in Madras by 1870. Sir F. A. Nicholson in 1899 proposed the setting up of a Bureau of Fisheries along with the Agricultural Department. In 1905, he was sent to Europe to study the working of fisheries there and to report. After extensive tours in Japan, Europe and America, he had submitted reports in which he discussed about the various fishing methods, apparatus, customs,

the relation of labour to capital, etc. In 1907, the Madras Government had accepted his recommendation and agreed to set up a Bureau of Fisheries as (i) every civilised country has a Fisheries Department and (ii) the fishing industry is of third importance in the country.⁷⁸

The establishment of fish farms at suitable centres for fish breeding and rearing of fish for distribution annually to tanks and channels to reinforce the natural stock of fish was of growing importance.

After some investigations into the waters of the plains, Kurnool which was one of the direct inland districts was chosen for a fish farm. The Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal is 200 miles in length and the perennial rivers Tungabhadra and Kistna are chosen as the most suitable ones for operations. Mr. Wilson proposed Sunkesula for a fish farm in 1907 as suggested by Sir Frederic Nicholson in his report on 'Fisheries' in Japan.. Sunkesula is at the mouth of the Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal. The fish farm there was started for breeding and rearing of fish, for developing the fry and for stocking the canal and connected tanks as a station for experiments in fish culture. The scheme was approved by Government, a capital expenditure of Rs. 13,150 and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 3,974 were sanctioned. The farm was designed on the model of the best trout farm in England and the first to be established in India. It was brought to working order in 1911. Water supply is from the Tungabhadra and from above the anicut it is pumped into it. The gross area of the farm is 20 crores of which 11 acres of water are divided into 19 ponds of which the largest is of 4 acres. The area actually under water is 3 acres divided into 12 ponds.

In 1918, the difficulty of obtaining water reached a climax in Sunkesula when the Government thought of finding out alternative sites. Two places were finally selected at Mahanadi and Praema near Nandyala. But the scheme for the development of a Fish Farm at Mahanadi had to be dropped due to the objection of the religious authorities there, while work with regard to the other at Praema proceeded ahead. Praema with smaller springs had already two small ponds for larvicides and four additional ponds were added at a cost of Rs. 5,350. These ponds came to be in use from end of June 1927. 'Gourami' and 'Etropoles' were transferred from Sunkesula fish farms to the Praema farm relieving to some extent the congestion at Sunkesula. Sunkesula farm could not be completely closed by

transferring all the fish there to Praema, because its pumping engine could not be removed. When the engine became old and out of order in 1928, another was purchased in the same year to set it going.

Earlier experiments of '*Murrel*' (a food fish) breeding were conducted at Sunkesula. An extensive swamp of waste about 6 miles from Sunkesula required neither for cultivation nor for the culture of the other food fish was reserved as a food nursery and breeding ground of '*Murrel*'. The young hatched and turned out in the swamp were annually fished and stored and they were sold in the Kurnool market when fresh supplies were not available.

The introduction of another valuable food fish '*Etroplus Suratensis*' from the Madras backwaters into the Sunkesula farm proved difficult in the beginning, but later researches made its acclimatization easy and successful. '*Gowrami*' was another well-known freshwater fish introduced for acclimatization. One hundred and twenty-five specimens from Java and 95 specimens from Mauritius were brought in 1916 and their culture too proved successful. '*Tench*' English Carp, another food fish famous in Nilgiris and Mysore were introduced into the Sunkesula farm in 1914.

The fish supply in the inland districts and towns was most scanty. When tanks and rivers were full they were not finished until the waters went low. Both fishermen and public used to get too much fish with the result there was too much glut and decay. To remedy this position, a live fish market was organised in Kurnool from 1912 by the Government market site close to the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal consisting of shallow ponds with running water from the channel. Fish were to be sent down the canal to the market from the Sunkesula Fish Farm in live cars, i.e., cages with holes to allow a free flow of canal water through them. The fish till required were kept alive in the market. The advantages of this system were (i) to provide a more even supply of fish to the market, (ii) fresh supply of fish in a wholesome condition, (iii) it could be sold when required, those not sold remaining alive till wanted and (iv) this method would keep up the price from either going down or too high. Proposals for the construction of live market were sanctioned in 1913 for a period of 12 years with a capital expenditure of Rs. 525 and a running expenditure of Rs. 250 and the market was opened in 1914. Live fish used to be obtained here at 3 annas a pound.

Due to some difficulties the market was closed in 1915, but was reopened in 1917. From 1917 to 1918 it was run by a contractor who was supplied with 884 lbs. 'Murrel' from the Farm. Two ponds for storing of live fish were constructed at Kurnool. The demand for fish by 1919-20 was double that of the previous years. This was an indication of the popular appreciation of the marketing facilities of fish created by Government. The value of Murrel and Carp sold from 1918-19 to 1926 ranged from Rs. 208 to Rs. 500 in 1922-23 and came down to Rs. 123 in 1925-26.

The Edemur swamp which served as a nursery for the Murrel to be sold at the market of Kurnool was heavily silted up, and so the 'Murrel' culture was abandoned. Suitable perennial water springs at Kalva within 20 miles of Kurnool on the Yeramalais were surveyed and a scheme for the construction of ponds for market culture of fresh water fish to take the place of Edemur was considered.

Sir Frederic Nicholson suggested the opening of another Fish Farm to utilize the Kanigiri and other reserves under Sangam Works in Nellore. Mr. Wilson after exhaustive enquiries of the Nellore waters from 1908-14 finally selected a site in the Ippur Kamini Tank for the establishment of a fish farm. The Government sanctioned the Ippur Fish Farm at an estimated capital cost of Rs. 26,000 and annual charges of Rs. 24,000. The fishery rights in the Ippur Kamini and Puduparti Tanks which came in the operation of the scheme were taken over by the Government from the Nellore District Board. This farm was established (1) to breed Larvicides in large numbers and distribute them throughout the Presidency and further afield, if necessary, for the destruction of mosquito larvae and prevention of malaria, (ii) to breed the most highly esteemed valuable fish such as 'Gourami', 'Etropolis', 'Tench', etc., for stocking irrigation tanks for marketing purposes, (iii) to hatch the eggs of 'Hilsa' artificially and distribute the fry and fertilised eggs in rivers both on the east and west coast while they have free access to the sea. The farm came to working order in 1917 and was working ever since. Specimens of large mullets in fresh water near sea led to their introduction in the fresh water tanks in Nellore in 1918-19. Though early experiments proved a failure, the latter experiments proved its culture successful. About 200 'Etropodus Suratensis' was also introduced into one of the ponds of the fish farm in Nellore in 1919. This breed rapidly multiplied and was annually distributed to irrigation tanks under

the control of the Nellore district. The annual introduction of the new fish in Nellore district from Ippur Fish Farm became an established practice. Gourami variety was also introduced into this farm in 1916-17, but its breed did not succeed till 1927, when the pond was suitably modelled.

Efforts were also made for rearing and distributing Larvicide fish in malarial farms for conducting anti-malaria operations. This work was commenced with a view to (i) breed and distribute mosquito larvicide fish to municipalities and other public bodies, (ii) to stock them periodically and for supplying to malarious localities, (iii) and fish breeding ponds which also serve the purpose of stocking irrigation tanks. Several thousands of larvicide fish at Rs. 10 per thousand were supplied from Ippur and Sunkesula Farms. Some of the municipalities and local boards were not taking adequate advantage of these cheap supplies and greater funds and staff were demanded every time to increase the work of the department. Mosquito breeding holes, ponds and streams in several localities in Cuddapah District and in the Nallamalai region in Kurnool were supplied annually with hundreds and thousands of larvae eating fish. Appreciable decrease of malaria was reported from the Forest Department in the Nallamalais.

As the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal was partly stocked in 1913 and was to be stocked regularly from the Sunkesula Fish Farm it was proposed to take over the fisheries on the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal on payment of a fixed annual compensation. The revenues of the fisheries were deemed to be credited to the Provincial revenues from 1913-14 onwards. Fixed annual compensation of Rs. 2,224-14-0 and Rs. 321-0-0 were paid to Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal. In 1916, proposals were also made to take over and improve fisheries of 11 prominent water tanks. The proposals were sanctioned and the compensation given was Rs. 200 to Chittoor, Rs. 185 to Nellore and Rs. 117 to Anantapur.

The Nellore tanks were rich in fish resources. The income from the sale of fish from 1922-23 to 1926-27 amounted to Rs. 58,819-3-0.

Another scheme evolved for developing of fisheries of the new irrigation reservoir at Mopad near Nellore district in 1918. This was intended to breed the best food fish so far ascertained, (ii) to transfer the resultant fry annually into the reservoir for growth, (iii) to experiment in fishing with boats, nets and other implements throughout the year to thin out the stock

in the reservoir and to ascertain the best methods of the deep perennial tanks and demonstrate the same to local fishermen and (iv) to render the new reservoir, a source of certain food fish to the neighbouring markets all the year round at a fixed cheap price. The scheme was sanctioned by Government at a capital cost of Rs. 27,680 and annual running charges of Rs. 2,500 and a further sanction of Rs. 2,600. The deep water tank experiments originally to be conducted at Kanigiri were conducted at Mopad as all the facilities required existed there. The cultural operations commenced in 1927, while the reservoir was finished in 1921-22. The sale proceeds of the fish ranged from Rs. 126 in 1921-22 to Rs. 1,029 in 1927-28.

Hilsa breeding was also started in the Godavary and Kistna rivers and the Collair Lake. It is a large and esteemed fish of the herring family which ascends in the river for breeding as does the Salmon for breeding in fresh waters. The Cauvery in the south, Kistna and Godavary in the north were visited by shoals of breeding Hilsa. Extensive and valuable fisheries exist in these rivers and in the Colliar Lake in the vicinity of Kistna. A scheme was sanctioned by Government in 1925 and an experimental hatchery with the Donald Farm and an iron overhead tank was fitted up in the office of the Assistant Industrial Engineer in Bezwada in 1926-27. Live female fish excluding eggs were available, but not live male fish for a long time. However, catching of fish at the lower anicut was commenced with success and they were improved.

Sir Frederic Nicholson's report on the fisheries in Japan suggested some measures to introduce deep sea fishing by trailers, etc., but no action on these suggestions was taken. The principal aims of the fisheries department were, (i) to increase the food supply of the masses directly or indirectly by developing to their utmost capacity the marine fisheries of the Presidency by fuller exploration and fresh water fisheries by culture and exploration, (ii) to stimulate the main and allied industry by improving the old and introducing new methods with the object of gradually augmenting catches by intensive fishing and protection and scientific pisciculture, (iii) to popularise improved methods, (iv) to translate the results of the scientific investigation and study into actual commercial methods and to constitute a Bureau of expert knowledge and information, and (v) to stock malaria mosquito larvicide and to improve the moral and material condition of the fishermen.

The question of developing deep sea fishing was before the Government from 1916. It was in 1922 after a series of consultations, the appointment of a Committee and consideration of its recommendations, that a trawler called the '*Lady Goschen*' was purchased for enabling officers to make researches on the future of deep sea fisheries. For the study of the depth of the sea fish findings, etc., an intensive study of the 1,700 miles sea shore is quite essential and this according to Sir Frederic Nicholson takes 21 years. This long investment and a long range plan were not favoured by the Fisheries Committee in 1929 which recommended a survey of the sea like the North Sea Survey and preparation of charts and depths, the times of the seasons and the tide, the variety of fish, their food value and fishing potentialities to the minutest detail. Good fish curing yards that could get the fishermen markets are considered necessary. Elimination of the middlemen in the curing process and giving of salt and help to the fishermen were also sought to be given priority. But the Government action on most of these recommendations followed the usual course of lethargy.

Minerals

It is an economic commonplace that minerals play a most predominant part in the development of modern civilization. The arts of war and peace are directly or indirectly allied to the development of mineral production, their discovery, extraction and utilization.

The Andhra Districts are rich in their mineral wealth, providing iron, copper, bauxite, asbestos, gold, silver, gems, diamonds, pearls, manganese, mica, barytes, coal, graphite and a host of other minerals both in Circars and Ceded Districts.

Antimony is available in Bellary, Rammanadru, Cuddapah, Jangamarajapeta.⁷⁹ It is also found in the Nallamalai Hill ranges.

Asbestos occurs in Pulivendla taluk of Cuddapah, Brahmanapalli, Lapatambulu area, Kamalapuram and Rajapalem. In Kurnool, it is found in Dhone taluk, Chandrapalli, Kocheruvu, Kamalapuram, Chinamallapuram, Kotapalli, Maddulati Swami, Betemcherla and Joharapuram.⁸⁰ Barytes occur in Narravda in Nellore⁸¹ and Ceded Districts.⁸² Bauxite occurs in the Vizag Hills and large areas of Jeypore occupied by Khandolites which are known to give rise to Bauxite and Alurim Laterite. Building materials, ornamental stones, coloured slabs and marbles occur in Bellary, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Godavary, and Kistna.

Cuddapah and Kurnool formations contain some limestones which are marbles of excellent quality.⁸³ In Kurnool, Nerji limestone occurs throughout the Khudder Valley which is also used in building operations.⁸⁴ Granitoid genesis of a pinkish grey variety is quarried at Kuchipudi Hill. Pink and white dolomite limestone occurs at Kondajori in Jeyapore Zamindari in Vizagapatam. Best marble for decorative purposes is also available in Vizag. Coal is available in three areas in the upper reaches of the Godavary. They occur in the Godavary Valley near Dummugudem and Bhadrachalam and four places around Lingapala occupying an area of four miles. Two seams of 2' and one of 5' are encountered and the field contained 8 million tons of coal of saleable quality.⁸⁵ The Totapalli field has an area of 16 square miles of which 10 square miles contains workable coal. In 86 boreholes, 2-3 feet seams were met with. A pit near Rajarampalli showed a seam of 5'-6" thick. This field was estimated to contain some 24 million tons of fairly good coal. Third field was located at Beddadamore which had an extent of 5.5 square miles. Four seams were encountered in a borehole of which only one about 4'-6" thick was considered workable. Coal bearing rocks were reported to be existing under Chintalpudi Sand Stones. Hence the area between Beddamoru and Chintalpudi was supposed to be worth investigation.⁸⁶ T. J. Newfold had given accounts of copper ore in Bellary,⁸⁷ where green carbonite was visible on the ridge below the southern scrap of Copper Mountains, five miles to the west of Bellary. Here, carbonite occurred in thin veins.⁸⁸ R. B. Foote mentions about the occurrence of green copper carbonite in a quartz reef about a mile to the north-west of Harpanhalli where there are vestiges of an old mine.⁸⁹ Traces of copper could also be seen in Jangamarajapalli or Baswapur in the Nallamalais of the Cuddapah district. Guntlapalam in Guntur was another place of copper occurrence. In Kurnool, it was found in Gurramkonda, Samadlapalli, Kommeneri and Gajjalakonda.⁹⁰ In Nellore, extensive workings were found in Garimanipenta, Kovaripalli and Nilgheny, the whole area occupying some ten square miles.

Corrundam occurs in several places of Anantapur like Atmakur, Danduvaripalli, Paramahyeleru, Pesalur, Reddipalli, Sidharamapuram, Timmapuram, Maddalacheruvu, Motalachintalpalli and Kalyandrug.⁹¹

Gem stones, pebbles, aspalite, jasper occur in large quantities in the bed of the Godavary river near Bhadrachalam,

Rajahmundry and the bed of the Kistna river.⁹²

Wajrakarur of Anantapur is known as the birth place of several diamonds. After a fall of rain, diamonds are found on the surface east of the village. A diamond worth £10,000 was found here. Bellary has diamond pits in Hadagalli, Huri and in Cuddapah, diamonds used to occur in Chenmur. Attempts were made in 1869 to find diamonds here. But they were unsuccessful. Two stones discovered here were sold for £5,000 and £7,000.⁹³ Kanuparti or Kondapeta operations seem to have lasted till 1840. Guntur was famous for its diamond mines where according to Tavernier, 60,000 persons used to work in mining them. The pits were shallow, generally 12' to 14' deep.⁹⁴ At this place occurred the diamond called the 'Great Moghul', Mir Jumla presented to Shah Jehan in 1656, originally weighed 800 ratas or 787.5 carats, but reduced to 280 carats. It was the same diamond which found its way to England in 1849.⁹⁵ These diamond areas were exhausted by 1677. Kistna Diamond Mines were at the left bank of Kistna between Bezwada and district boundary with Nizam's Dominions.⁹⁶ The diamonds worked to a depth of 14' to 30' below the surface. The deposits appear to have been exhausted by the earlier part of the 19th century. In Kurnool, there were numerous old workings of diamonds, especially Banganapalli produced an appreciable quantity. The production between 1909-13 was only 38.36 carats.

Garnets (fair stones) were found in Kondapalli in Kistna. Excellent transparent crystals were also found in Bezwada along the banks of Kistna. Kondapalli garnets worked for a long time. Some red garnets were collected in Nellore. They were semi-opaque, but they had no value as gems.⁹⁷

Gold mining was done in Anantapur and Bellary. Anantapur Gold Fields Limited was started in 1905 and subsequently became the North Anantapur Gold Mines Limited. This did much work, but was closed by 1925. In Bellary, streams draining the Jaykulgadda area revealed the presence of gold.⁹⁸

Graphite was found in Godavary in Bhadrachalam taluk at Pedakonda and Pulikonda. It was also recorded near Vellagoapalli and Yerametla in the Chodavaram Division and at Gullapudi in the Polavaram Division. A small production of 140 tons recorded from the Bhadrachalam occurrences between 1904 and 1908. It was also available in the neighbourhood of Bezwada, Salur and Kasipuram in Vizag.⁹⁹ The district produced 259 tons of graphite in 1904 and 54 tons in 1911.

Gypsum crystals of selicate occurred fairly abundantly in the marine clays of Santravour on the Buckingham Canal. This gypsum was fairly large and in comparatively clear crystals.¹⁰⁰

Iron sands and lateritic ores used by the indigenous smelters occurred in many places of Bellary and formerly the production amounted to 600 tons. Bands of silicus haemetite occurred in Sandur Hills near Bellary on the Mahappam Gudda. The soft ores occurring near Kanavihalla have been used by the indigenous industry.¹⁰¹ In Cuddapah, hamitite bands are found in and around Cuddapah. Formations have been worked near Yeraguntla and Chintlakunta.¹⁰²

Neighbourhood of Polavaram in Godavary showed highly quartzose metamorphic rocks containing magnetite according to Blandford.¹⁰³ In Kistna, sand occurred in sand stones formations.¹⁰⁴ Iron was manufactured in many indigenous furnaces. Heyne and others have given accounts of smelting furnaces in these places.¹⁰⁵ Cuddapah and Kurnool too contained abundant iron ores and were mainly worked in Cuddapah and Rudrar in Kurnool.¹⁰⁶ In Nellore, there were two ores one near Gundlakkamma and the other near Ongole. Hematite also occurred in the valley of the Swarnamukhi River, between Incola and Tresalmare.¹⁰⁷ The Nellore Manual gives a list of the localities where smelting of iron used to be carried out. In Vizag, the Schistose rocks contain bands of rich iron especially the central portions of Jeyapore and Vizagapatam districts. Brown Hematite is found near Chitra worked for smelting iron.¹⁰⁸

Lead and silver mining was carried on to a considerable extent in a number of old pits in Cuddapah from 1842 onwards. In 1858, another ore was discovered at a distance of four miles to the first one. Samples collected by Mr. Bal, a geologist, assayed 66 per cent to 69 per cent of lead while the one assayed by Mallet contained 78 per cent lead and 22 ozs. 7 stones of silver per ton of lead content.¹⁰⁹ Mr. Bal states that the first occurrences continue to the south in the Lankamalai Hills east of Nandalurpetta. Nagasanipalli ore yielded 70 per cent to 76 per cent lead on assay.¹¹⁰ In Guntur, the occurrence is towards Karampudi, north-east end of Warimkonda range and Basavapuram. In some places, the ore was considered to be very rich, yielding 12 to 14 ozs. of silver per ton of lead content.¹¹¹

Manganese depots occurred in Bellary-Sandur Hills. Richer ores of a hundred deposits occurred between Kamma Hanur near Rammanadrug.¹¹² In Vizag, the first manganese ore was mined

in 1852. The largest ore body is that of Gardham Hills which is 1,600' and 167' thick at the maximum about 100' therein being the ore and the remainder lithomarge.¹¹³

Mica mines in Nellore were first worked in 1889 at Inikurti and great activity ensued thereafter. Many leases for mining were taken up between 1904 and 1914.¹¹⁴ The output had varied from year to year ranging between 5,000 to 25,000 cwt.s.

Octroi was found associated with a bed of iron ore in Bellary about 1½ miles east of Kumaraswamy Temple and it was of red and yellow colour used as a paint material.¹¹⁵

Rare minerals like columbite occurred in Nellore in small quantities in the mica pegmatites near Changenam.¹¹⁶

Deposits of steatite and potstone free from grit were available in Anantapur and Bellary.¹¹⁷ The rich depots in Bellary are in Nalgonda Hills, Angur, Harpanahalli, Somalapuram localities.¹¹⁸ According to Newbold, statite of an excellent quality occurs near Dhone.¹¹⁹ Thin layers of very good quality are to be found intercolated with the shales of the Papaghani near Maddavaram. Another good deposit exists near Betamacherla and Musalicheruvu. Excellent green crystalline steatite occurs in deposits covering an area of 70 acres. In Nellore, it is available in Saidapalli and Jogapalli and in Vizag in the neighbourhood of Jeyapore. Here, the deposits of grey steatite are used for making vessels, figures, etc.

Whatever mineral wealth is in South India, it is in Andhra Desa.¹²⁰ These several minerals could be put to a variety of industrial uses. Copper ore yielded a total output of 14 tons in 1926 and 365 tons in 1932. The copper could be utilized for several industrial purposes like manufacturing of conducting wires for electrical purposes. It is possible to develop this industry after full investigation. Regarding diamonds, proper care is never taken to enquire into the potentialities of the mines in the several places. The Anantapur gold mines yielded a total output of 44,688 ozs. of fine gold between 1919 and 1923.

Graphite which is available in plenty could be useful for pencil making, stone polish and paints manufacture. The old methods of iron smelting from the indigenous ore have been neglected with the result this domestic industry found its way into Persia, Turkey, Arabia and Levant. Vizag produced the most famous manganese for the whole of India. Vijayanagar Company that was floated in 1895 afforded employment to a large number of people. Between 1929 and 1933, the production

from Vizag alone amounted to 67,862 tons from Sandur and Bellary to about 6,16,681 tons, from Cuddapah and Kurnool to about 14,500 tons. India was supplying about 40 per cent of the world's requirements of manganese and one year 57 per cent of the world's demand. In 1929-30, the manganese mining in Andhra gave employment to 2,500 workers on an average daily. Similarly, best Indian deposits of asbestos are in Pulinvendla in Cuddapah from where 200 tons were extracted between 1924 and 1930 valued at Rs. 27,954. Its uses in modern industrial development are varied. It is a good non-conductor of electricity and out of it are made fire-proof bricks, cloth, ropes, etc. 19,946 tons of Barytes valued at Rs. 2,24,207 came out of Ceded Districts between 1929 and 1933. They were useful for manufacture of paper, cloth and linoleum. The chief deposits of barytes in Anantapur are located at Narajampalli and Mukkukoty in Thadipatri taluk. The output of Mukukoti alone came to Rs. 75,000.¹²¹

It looks as though the mineral wealth of the Ceded Districts is much richer than that of Circars excepting the manganese ores of Vizag, mica mines of Nellore and the coal deposits on the Godavary. The manganese deposits in Vizag yielded 9,52,025 tons in 1909, 1,20,000 tons in 1913 and 1,91,865 tons in 1921 and the average between 1914 and 1918 was 14,000 tons. In 1914, Sandur and Bellary produced 33,000 tons which was exported to Belgium and Germany.¹²² The high ocean freight, shortage of tonnage and export restrictions affected the industry in Vizag. Kurnool produced 400 tons of manganese in 1924-25, but there was no further production subsequently. In 1930, Cuddapah reported a production of 50 tons of manganese, but there was no further activity thereafter.

The manganese production which was 7,386 tons in 1920 went upto 41,670 tons in 1924 and gradually came down to 16,723 tons by 1930. The total output during 1929-30 was 2,46,262 tons.

The exports amounted to 20,000 tons per annum in 1931 as against 1,91,865 tons of the previous decade. The average price per unit of manganese f.o.b. Indian ports which was 23.46 d. in 1920 fell to d. 8.70 in 1922 and after rising to £0-16-8 in 1924 again fell to d. 12.22 in 1928.

For mica production, Nellore is the chief place in Madras, coming next to Bihar and Orissa in importance. India is a prominent producer of mica in the world. Besides Nellore, Nilgiris where output was never more than 22 tons a year, the total

figures given below minus 22 tons a year will give the total mica production of Nellore. The output for the decade 1921-31 was cwt. 99,182 valued at Rs. 1,23,88,265.

Anantapur produced 1921 and 1927, gold worth 27,274 ozs. Troy and silver of 581 ozs. Troy.¹²³

Though Kurnool was the sole producer of barytes till 1929, Cuddapah too entered the field in that year. But production did not exceed 43 tons in 1929 and 154 tons in 1930.

In Kurnool, the production of barytes from 1921 to 1930 varied from 470 tons to 4,389 tons, the total production being 10,338 tons.

Steatite too is worked in Kurnool and Nellore, but its production till 1926 was very irregular. It was 4 tons in 1919, 1924, 1925 and 1926 in Kurnool and 77 tons, 82 tons and 66 tons in Nellore for 1923, 1925 and 1926.¹²⁴

After 1926, its production in both the places has almost ceased. Government neglect was partly responsible for the inadequate exploitation of these rich mineral resources available throughout the Andhra districts and more so in the Ceded Districts. A thorough survey of the mining possibilities was also recommended by the Famine Code Revision Committee in 1938 and later on a Committee called "The Economic Development Committee of the Ceded Districts" was set up by the Government.

The economic resources by way of mineral wealth in the Ceded Districts towards the end of forties were as follows:—

Minerals	District	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Manganese	Bellary	—	—	200	1,000	450
—do.—	Kurnool	300	—	300	—	200
Barytes	Kurnool	334	417	595	252	130
—do.—	Anantapur	110	180	597	346	1,465
—do.—	Cuddapah	1886	2,302	2,155	1,777	1,461
Steatite	Anantapur	—	2	225	40	150
Asbestos	Cuddapah	—	58.2	7.67	—	—

Mining is still carried on today in the districts of Kurnool, Bellary, Cuddapah and Anantapur and the minerals which are being produced in recent years consist of manganese in Kurnool and Bellary and barytes in Kurnool and Anantapur.

Sulphate of barium, a white mineral used in paints, is also available in Ceded Districts. Baryte industry in India is still in its infancy. The first production was in Dhone in Kurnool

in 1918 and 2,724 tons were extracted. The deposits of Ceded Districts constitute the largest reserves of barytes. There has been of late a fresh demand for barytes for weighing the mud fluid in Rotary Drilling, but the barytes produced in Ceded Districts has not so far been used for this purpose. Dr. Coggin Brown of the Geological Survey of India maintained that further exploration of barytes in Ceded Districts depended on the future of the paint industry in this country. Dr. A. L. Culson who wrote a memoir on the barytes of Ceded Districts suggested along with Dr. Brown that the Indian trade should stop the import trade into India. The high freight of the railways disabled the barytes industry in Ceded Districts to compete favourably with Sind or Punjab barytes due to the difficulty of transport. Madras barytes have advantages of export to Calcutta and Assam over Alwar deposits though the deposits of Bihar and Orissa are more favourably situated. Export to Rangoon by sea at a cheap competitive price is going on. The development of paint industry in South India might be expected to stimulate further demand for the barytes of the Ceded Districts.

Steatite is one of the most widely distributed minerals in India used in the making of pots, dishes, gas burners, etc. Pure steatite can be used in paper making, textiles, rubber and soap industries. The powdered mineral called the French chalk forms the basis of many toilet preparations.¹²⁵ It also can be used for the making of images, bowls, plates and ornamental articles. In 1912, when steatite deposits were opened in Muddavaram and Musilacheruvu near Betemcherla in the Kurnool district, the entire consignment was shipped to America. Most of the steatite derived from Musilacheruvu appears to have been of the green variety, although white also is available. At Muddavaram, the steatite is wholly white, associated with quality rock and magnetite. The output which was 210 tons in 1924 had all but ceased in later years. The question whether the steatite deposits of Kurnool and Anantapur could not be developed has to be examined.

Asbestos deposits of Cuddapah and Kurnool attracted worldwide attention as the variety occurring in Cuddapah was found to be the best among the varieties displayed in the London Exhibition of 1928. It was first discovered in Lingala by a cultivator. The Mysore Development Company undertook to work the deposits at Pulivendla. These samples were found to be com-

paring favourably with the best asbestos of Canada and South Africa. The value of the crude asbestos was Rs. 10-8-0 per cwt. About 2,19,270 lbs. of asbestos was exported to Belgium and London during 1929-30 from Pulivendla.¹²⁶

Manganese which was first discovered in 1852 was not actually worked in Vizag till 1891 when the Collector formed a syndicate to work the deposits now known as the Kodum Mines. The first exports in 1892 amounted to 674 tons. In 1895, the Syndicate was converted to Vijayanagaram Mining Company with a capital of Rs. 2,30,600 with Messrs. Arbuthnot Company, Madras, as agents.¹²⁷

The Gharbham deposits too were discovered when the output jumped from 15,816 tons in 1895 to 56,869 tons in 1896 and rose to maximum of 92,458 tons in 1900. The output decreased to 53,699 tons in 1904 and from 63,907 tons in 1905 left up to 1,04,600 tons in 1906. The success of the Vijayanagaram Company brought others into the field. In 1898, Messrs. Gorden Wood Roofe & Co. Ltd., and Kovur Basivireddi, both of Cocanada, jointly acquired various deposits and extracted a certain amount of ore. After two years of work, they had to stop working due to some quarrels with Vijayanagaram Samsthanam.

During 1905-06, Madras Manganese Mica Company with Mr. S. Crawshaw of Vijayanagar as Manager, started work on several deposits situated within the reach of Chipurapalli and Garavidi stations. In 1906, 15 deposits were worked with output of 4,366 tons and in 1907 and 36 ore deposits with output of 21,878 tons. On 1st January 1908, properties were transferred to a new company called the Bobbili Company Limited, registered in Madras with a capital of Rs. 10,00,000 in shares of Rs. 100 each. Of this sum Rs. 6,00,000 were allotted to fully paid up vendors. The managing agents were Messrs. W. A. B. Bearshell & Co., Madras.

The existence of manganese in Sandur was known as early as 1839 by Newbold. But no attempts were made to ascertain their value till 1895, when Mr. A. Ghosh on behalf of Messrs. Hamben and Lee of Calcutta, began to work these mines, opening first the deposits at Rammanadrug. During 1905, 1906, 1,200 and 3,208 tons of ore were shipped. By 1906, Sir Vincent Callaird joined Mr. Jamben and by the middle of 1907, the company was changed as the General Sandur Mining Company Ltd. with a capital of £1,20,000 securing monopoly of mining manganese iron ores for 25 years.

The production of the Madras Manganese Company, Vizagapatam, during 1906 was 4,364 tons from the deposits till Devada, Garivada, Gadabavalasa, Laxmipuram, Nimmalavalasa, Lingalavalasa, Sarveswarapuram, Vijayarampuram, Bondapalli, Batwa, Viswanathapuram, Challapuram, Garbham, Ravivalasa, Chipurupalli.

The figures of production for earlier years from 1895 to 1907 ranged from 600 to 8,500 tons.

The Andhra labourers were the best miners who work considerably harder than their counterparts in Central Provinces or Central India, but their wages were the lowest. The daily wage for male, female and child labour in Bengal, Singbhum and Central India was Rs. 3, Rs. 2 and Rs. 1-8-0, in Jharia it was Rs. 2-8-0, Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 1-4-0, in Balaghat in Central Provinces, Rs. 3-8-0, Rs. 2-4-0 and Rs. 1-2-0, in Nagpur Rs. 4-7-0, Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 3-8-0 and Rs. 1-2-0, but in Vizag, the rates for the same categories were Re. 0-2-6, to Re. 0-3-6, Re. 0-1-3 to Re. 0-2-0 and Re. 0-1-0 and Re. 0-0-9 only.¹²⁸

The present method of working manganese and mica ores are considered uneconomic and wasteful.¹²⁹ The question of a proper mineral policy and ways and means for successful exploitation of the mineral wealth are considered by a symposium of scientists and geologists in the Indian Science Congress, 1942. Dr. J. N. Dunn, the Superintendent, Geologist to the Government of India suggested (i) the ownership of mineral rights by the Government, (ii) imposition of rents and royalties at such rates as will provide Government with the maximum return for the depletion of the country's wasting asset, but yet will not bear unduly on the miners, (iii) the domestic treatment of mineral raw materials as far as possible, (iv) offering of bonus to villagers for new finds, (v) maintaining statistics of up-to-date mineral production in the country, (vi) creation of a Bureau of Mineral Information, and (vii) a close liaison between the Government Geologists and the Universities.¹³⁰ According to another authority, the factor which appears most damaging to the economic development of minerals and allied industries both for internal consumption and external export is the high cost of transport of raw materials from one part of the country to another. Hence for successful development of mineral industry, cheap rates for internal transport are considered essential. State acquisition of mines with freedom to allow private individuals and firms to exploit them has been considered to be

another factor contributing to the efficient working.¹³¹ Mr. N. N. Chatterjee of Calcutta had suggested a national mineral policy like the National Research Councils of other countries to procure more definite information regarding the occurrence of minerals and to develop ways and means for their consideration and exploitation. The domestic industries should receive encouragement and protection at the hands of the State with a view to get impetus to start suitable industries. A Central Marketing Board for the marketing of the various mineral goods was also one of the suggestions made.¹³² Dr. V. S. Dube of Benaras suggested the banning of all exports of minerals of strategic importance like manganese, chromite, siliminitic, etc.,¹³³ local manufacture of metals and products now imported from abroad and following of a proper policy to make the country self-sufficient in mineral requirements. Some suggested the setting up of an iron and steel industry at Cuddapah with a capital of Rs. 50,000 as iron ores are available beginning from Jeyapore in Vizag, Godavary, Nellore, Cuddapah and Kurnool. The ores consist of various types from laterite, hematite, hard silicius, hematite, flankey, lustrous hematite to crystalline magnetite. Two important deposits in Cuddapah were licensed by Rao Bahadur K. Brahmiah, the larger one at Chaballi comprising an area of 264.40 acres containing a bed of rich hematite with a maximum thickness of 10' dipping. The smaller one is at Pagadalapalli of 60 acres extense spread afloat rich iron ore in the stream bed of the valley. The mining had to be carried on at Chaballi underground. Cost including losses were estimated not to go beyond Rs. 1-2-0 per ton, even if the ore was to be transported to 6 to 8 miles to the proposed works near Gangapalli Railway Station. In point of percentage of iron ore, these deposits appear to be superior even to those worked in Singhbhum District, Mayurbhanj State. The draft plan for a Rs. 50,000 company was as follows :

Licence shares	Rs.	10,000	0	0
Cash	Rs.	1,000	0	0
Experts consolidated fees	Rs.	12,000	0	0
Assistants and clerks	Rs.	2,000	0	0
Guards and peons	Rs.	1,000	0	0
T.A. for experts, 1 Assistant from Calcutta and back	Rs.	500	0	0
Huts, furniture, tents, etc.	Rs.	200	0	0
T.A. for the business of the company	Rs.	500	0	0

Tools, implements, repairs ..	Rs.	500	0	0
Travelling, blasting, explosives ..	Rs.	5,000	0	0
Drilling, if necessary ..	Rs.	5,000	0	0
Analytical charges ..	Rs.	2,000	0	0
Acquisition of property ..	Rs.	2,000	0	0
Testing of raw materials ..	Rs.	5,000	0	0
Foreign centres and freights ..	Rs.	1,000	0	0
	Rs.	50,000	0	0

The figures are on the basis of a six-months work and could be finished in three months if much drilling is not necessary. Though there are few companies in Bihar, Bengal, South India has none except the one at Bhadravati in Mysore. So in Cuddapah a big company with a few crores of rupees can be floated. Prospects are highly alluring as there are no other iron and steel works in South India. It can never be a failure and the present contents of the ore can be a sufficient guarantee to the shareholders' money. The iron ore is six miles from Ganjayapalli Railway Station, the nearest on the M. & S. M. Line. A branch line has to be arranged instead of going as far as Cuddapah, 18 miles away. Kurnool and Cuddapah are full of rocks and the fuel question is very tricky. Unless the Tungabhadra Project materialises the question of electric power does not arise. Even then there is no reason to be discouraged because the cost of charcoal per ton does not exceed Rs. 25 as follows :

Hard Coke	Rs.	7	8	0
By freight to K. P. Docks	Rs.	3	6	0
Port dues to K. P. Docks	Rs.	1	4	0
Ocean freight to Madras	Rs.	6	8	0
Madras Port dues	Rs.	1	4	0
By freight from Madras to Cuddapah or Ganjaipalli	Rs.	4	8	0

The cost of charcoal to Bhadravati Iron Works per ton is the same. Hence, in spite of this high cost it is considered profitable to work pig iron at Cuddapah with transport facilities on M. & S. M. Railway. The existence of special iron ores in Velatoor, 12 miles from Cuddapah on the road to Pendumarri, Gangamkutta, 4½ miles from Velatoor and Brahmanakunda, 3 miles from the station and Ramalkota, another village 1½ miles from Brahmanakundam Hills provide the necessary nucleus for

a good iron industry here.¹³⁴ The prospects of starting an iron industry on sound lines deserves Government's attention as well as further investigations by private enterprise.

Thus, the rich mineral wealth available in Circars and Ceded Districts requires exhaustive explorations, planned exploitation, economic utilisation by following a suitable industrial and mineral policy.

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PART IV

(1947-1957)

THE AFTERMATH OF INDEPENDENCE

On August 15, 1947, India became independent from the British bondage and along with it the Andhra districts which so far constituted a part of the former Madras State. They were the first to be formed into an independent State on a linguistic basis due to a forty-year-old agitation by the Andhras, ultimately ending in the self-immolating fast of Shri Potti Sriramulu, who fasted unto death for 59 days demanding the immediate formation of Andhra State and died on 15th December, 1952. The Government of India, in the midst of great uprisings in Andhra, following his death, had announced their decision to form the Andhra State on 19th December, 1952 and appointed Justice Mr. K. N. Wanchoo of the Rajasthan High Court to inquire and report on the financial and other implications of forming the new State. He presented his report on 7th February 1953 and the Government announced their decision on his report in March 1953 agreeing to form the Andhra State with the 11 undisputed Telugu districts of (1) Srikakulam, (2) Visakhapatnam, (3) East Godavary, (4) West Godavary, (6) Kistna, (6) Guntur, (7) Nellore, (8) Cuddapah, (9) Kurnool, (10) Anantapur, (11) Chittoor, and the three taluks of Alur, Adoni and Rayadrug of Bellary. Six of the seven remaining taluks of Bellary were to be added to Mysore. But the Government of India wanted this particular issue to be decided by another judicial inquiry and as such asked Justice Mr. L. N. Misra of the Hyderabad High Court on 21st April 1953 to inquire and report on this matter. He submitted his report on 19th May, 1953 recommending the inclusion of Bellary in Mysore as out of the total population of Bellary (1,71,226) Kannada speaking were 89,925 (52.2 per cent), 43,317 (25.2 per cent) were Telugu speaking, and others were 37,984 (22.9 per cent). The Government accepted this recommendation and formed the Andhra State with capital at Kurnool on 1st October 1953 by an Act called the Andhra State Act, 1953 which received the President's assent on September 14, 1953. The new State came into existence with an area of 63,608 sq. miles and a population of 2,05,07,801 (1951).

Following the formation of the Andhra State, the other linguistic groups in the country raised an agitation for regrouping the country on the basis of different linguistic regions which led to the appointment of the States Reorganisation Commission by the Government of India, as a result of whose recommendations the existing map of India was redrawn into 14 major States. Along with the rest of the States in India, the Andhra State too had changed its shape and expanding itself by including the Telangana region comprising of the nine predominantly Telugu districts of the former Hyderabad State, emerged out as the new Andhra Pradesh on 1st November, 1956. The new districts from the Telangana region are : (1) Hyderabad, (2) Mahaboobnagar, (3) Adilabad, (4) Nizamabad, (5) Medak, (6) Karimnagar, (7) Warangal, (8) Khammanmetta, and (9) Nallagonda, all together constituting an additional area of 43,288 sq. miles and a population of 1,07,61,000. Thus, the new State of Andhra Pradesh covering a total area of 1,06,041 sq. miles with a population of 3.3 lakhs ranks as the fourth biggest State from the viewpoint of population and the fifth largest in area.

As the economic events of this interim period are subject to a variety of changes, due to the prior separation of the Andhra districts into an independent State in 1953 and its subsequent extension in 1956 by inclusion of 9 more districts when it became the Andhra Pradesh with Hyderabad as capital, it is not possible to assess but give only a picture of the significant features of the newly formed Andhra Pradesh with the data available.

1. National Income

An analysis of the national income of the State shows it to be the product of four broad economic sectors : (1) agriculture and animal husbandry, (2) mining, manufacturing and hand trades, (3) commerce, transport and communications, and (4) other services.

Estimate of National Income of Andhra Pradesh

	<i>Rupees in crores</i>	
	1950-51	1955-56
1. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry ..	411.77	474.44
2. Mining, Manufacturing and Hand Trades :		
(a) Mining	2.51	5.68

(b) Factory Establishments	14.75	23.47
(c) Small Enterprises	68.53	82.60
	85.79	111.75
3. Commerce, Transport and Communications	106.81	129.33
4. Other Services :		
(a) Professional and Liberal Arts ..	27.82	33.53
(b) Government Services (Administration)	17.32	24.05
(c) Domestic Services	4.12	4.97
(d) House Property	37.84	45.03
	87.10	107.58
Population (in lakhs)	313	331
Per capita Income (Rupees in Crores)	221	249

The National Income of Andhra Pradesh increased from Rs. 691 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 843 crores in 1955-56 that is Rs. 132 crores at constant prices. Thus the increase in 5 years represents 19 per cent. Similarly, *per capita* income increased from Rs. 221 crores to Rs. 249 crores, i.e., Rs. 28 at constant prices. The percentage increase in the *per capita* income amounts to 13. The bulk of the increase in National Income between 1950-51 and 1955-56 took place under agriculture. In that sector the rise in income was Rs. 63 crores (15 per cent). This rise is in no small measure due to the impact of the first Five-Year Plan and the agricultural economy. The increase in the case of other sectors was Rs. 26 crores (30 per cent) under Mining, Manufacturing and Hand Trades, Rs. 22.52 crores (21 per cent) under Commerce, Transport and Communications and Rs. 20.48 crores (24 per cent) under other services.

Agriculture and small enterprises which are the principal means of livelihood of a very large section of the population in the State had accounted for about Rs. 480 crores (69 per cent) of the total income in 1950-51 and about Rs. 551 crores (68 per cent) in 1955-56. The income in organised industry (Mining, Farming Establishments) recorded a significant rise from Rs. 17 crores (2.5 per cent of the National Income) in 1950-51 to Rs. 29 crores (3.5 per cent) in 1955-56. Income from Commerce, Transport and Communications was Rs. 107 crores (15.4 per cent) in 1950-51 and Rs. 129 crores (15.7 per cent) in 1955-56. Income

due to other services was Rs. 87 crores (12.6 per cent) in 1950-51 and Rs. 108 crores (13.1 per cent) in 1955-56.

2. Agriculture and Employment Structure

The economy of Andhra Pradesh is predominantly agricultural with about 211 lakhs of persons or 67.4 per cent of the population dependent on agriculture. Of these 122 lakhs of persons depend on cultivation of owned land, 24 lakhs on unowned land, 58 lakhs on agricultural labour and 6 lakhs on agricultural rent. Particularly in the agency tracts nearly 70 per cent fall under cultivating owners. In Vizag and East Godavary where there are large hilly areas, 82 per cent and 71 per cent of the agricultural population cultivate their own lands. In the deltas of East and West Godavary cultivating labourers constitute larger majorities of 46 per cent and 40 per cent of the agricultural population (Census Report, 1951).

3 Land Utilisation

The total geographic area of Andhra Pradesh is 673 lakh acres. Of this the net area sown in 1955-56 was 270 lakh acres or 40.6 per cent of the total geographical area, 54.88 lakh acres or 8.3 per cent under current fallows, 17.83 lakhs or 2.6 per cent under other fallows, 41.09 lakh acres or 6.2 per cent under cultivable waste and 140.26 lakh acres or 21.1 per cent under forests.

According to the census of landholdings conducted in 1954 in Telangana and in 1955 in the Andhra districts, the total number of holdings of land in Andhra Pradesh comes to 42,42,655 and these comprise an area of 3,41,91,763 acres. The average size of a single holding is 8.1 acres. The census reveals that 39.87 lakhs holdings are under the personal cultivation of the owners wholly or partially and the remaining 2.56 lakhs land-holdings are completely leased out. The area given on lease works out to 39.29 lakhs acres or 11.5 per cent of the total covered area in the holdings. The remaining 88.5 per cent, 302.63 lakh acres, are under the personal cultivation of their owners and they include lands put to non-agricultural uses as well.

4. Crop Pattern and Agricultural Production

Between 1950-51 and 1955-56 the total cropped area in Andhra Pradesh increased from 253.28' to 293.81 lakh acres, i.e., by 40 lakh acres representing 15 per cent. Almost the whole of increase was accounted for by cereals, especially rice 11 lakh acres and jowar 12 lakh acres. The increased area under cereals was due

to the favourable seasons, due to the impetus of the Grow More Food campaign and the remunerative prices.

But there was a shift in the crop pattern during these 5 years. Area under cereals increased from 57.3 per cent in 1950-51 to 59.3 per cent in 1955-56. All other crops declined in area. Seeds and pulses declined from 19.2 per cent to 11.8 per cent in 1950-51 to 16 per cent and 9.9 per cent respectively in 1955-56. Though the area under sugarcane remained more or less static during the period 1950-51 to 1955-56, its importance in terms of total cropped area declined as is evidenced from the fact that in 1955-56 it amounted to only 0.58 per cent of the total area whereas it was 0.68 per cent in 1950-51. The area under sugarcane in 1951-52 rose to 1.93 lakh acres from 1.71 lakh acres in 1950-51. Though the area under cotton in 1955-56 was higher than that in 1950-51, the percentage of cropped area actually declined from 3.6 per cent in 1950-51 to 3.3 per cent in 1955-56.

Agricultural production throughout the period indicated an upward trend compared to 1950-51. Compared to 1950-51, cereals increased from 37.72 lakh tons to 51.20 lakh tons in 1955-56, pulses from 2.38 lakh tons to 2.46 lakh tons in 1955-56, oilseeds from 11.11 lakh tons to 11.49 lakh tons, rice from 22.21 lakh tons to 30.59 lakh tons (peak production 30.90 in 1954) jowar from 8.30 lakh tons to 10.78 lakh tons (peak production 11.35 lakh tons in 1953-54). Ragi rose from 2.38 to 2.39 lakh tons, Bajra and minor millets rose from 2.19 lakh tons and 2.24 lakh tons to 2.76 and 3.23 lakh tons. The outturn of jowar increased from 30,000 tons in 1950-51 to 47,000 tons in 1954-55 and declined to 42,000 tons in 1955-56. Green gram increased from 64,000 tons in 1951 to 86,000 tons in 1952-53. Bengal gram rose from 32,000 tons in 1950-51 to 39,000 tons in 1954-55. The outturn of groundnut rose from 9.90 lakh tons in 1950-51 to 10.53 lakh tons in 1954-55. The outturn of castor increased from 59,000 tons in 1950-51 to 70,000 tons in 1951-52. As regards sesamum (Ginger) the outturn rose from 67,000 tons in 1950-51 to 76,000 tons in 1953-53. Among important cash crops the outturn of sugarcane in terms of gur increased from 4.64 tons in 1950-51 to 4.78 lakh tons; in chillies from 91,000 tons to 101,000 tons, tobacco declined from 1.13 lakh tons to 1.09 lakh tons.

Under the Grow More Food campaign during the first Five-Year Plan in Telangana, 1,666 new wells were sunk and 1,809 old wells were repaired. In addition 2,615 oil engines, 717

Rahatas and 71 ploughs were supplied to the ryots. 24 tractors were given to plough an area of 3,574 acres. Contour building over an area of 1,247 acres was completed. The actual amount of improved rice and jowar seeds supplied was 23,611 tons and 89 tons respectively. Additional measures undertaken to improve the agricultural yield consisted of 58,513 tons of paddy fertiliser mixture and 3,51,539 tons of urban compost, during the period under review. 1,034 tons of green manure seed and 31 tons of sulphur were distributed. These are figures relating to Telangana and a fraction of the figures relating to the total Andhra Pradesh. For Andhra region the total area ploughed by tractors between 1951-56 was 38,000 acres. The quality of improved paddy seeds distributed during 1953-54 and 1954-55 was 10,739 tons while the quantity of millets and green manure distributed was 655 tons and 295 tons respectively. Under the land colonisation scheme in East and West Godavary districts out of 2,345 acres to be reclaimed an area of 1,913 acres has been reclaimed and out of 287 families to be settled only 171 families have been settled by 1955-56. Under the land assignment scheme in Andhra region, 2 lakh acres of land was given to 60,000 landless agricultural labourers upto the end of 1956 and 19,000 acres were given to 3,000 political sufferers. Rs. 8,39 000 were given as Taccavi loans upto 1956-57 in Telangana alone. Andhra Pradesh with this all round improvement continued to be the grannary of the south and the biggest rice producer.

5. *Land Reforms*

A census of land holdings undertaken at the instance of the Planning Commission in the former Andhra State revealed that the bulk of the land is under the personal cultivation of the owners and that only a very small proportion of it, i.e., about 9 per cent is under the tenancy. It also discloses that by far the greatest number of land-owners are small holders, i.e., over 90 per cent of the total number of holdings do not exceed 10 standard acres in size and only 1 per cent of the total number of holdings exceed 30 standard acres in size. A similar survey undertaken in the composite Hyderabad State showed the percentage area under tenancy to be higher (16 per cent) than in the Andhra region, yet the bulk of the land is cultivated by the owners themselves. Here also the small holders predominate and over 93 per cent of the total number of holdings are one-family holdings or less.

In 1956 further measures were adopted for the abolition of intermediaries in the Andhra area. The definition of "estate" under the Estate Land Act was enlarged so as to include within its scope inam hamlets and inam khandrigas in inam villages thereby ensuring the application of the Rent Reduction Act and to some extent the Abolition Act also to these inams. Legislation was also undertaken to abolish all inams other than 'Estates' and for their conversion into ryotwari tenure. In order to complete the scheme of the abolition of intermediaries, the Government have now under consideration proposals for undertaking legislation for the abolition of post-1936 inams as well. Other measures enacted in 1953 were the Andhra Tenancy Act which provides mainly for the regulation of rents payable by the tenants to landlords and for the prescription of a minimum period for agricultural leases.

6. Community Projects

As the Andhra State was formed in 1953, exactly an year after the inauguration of the community projects all over the country, the movement did not take deep roots. But it has caught up in no time and earned the tributes of the Prime Minister on 8th September 1956, when he said in the Lok Sabha that "Andhra State was till recently rather behind, but it has caught up so fast since then that it is among the top ranking States now". The first lap of the progress has ended on 1st October 1956 with the completion of the programme period of community projects. The Cocanada-Peddapuram, the Kurnool-Cuddapah canal and the Nizam Sagar community projects and the Mulong community development block, were normalised into 4, 5, and 1 post intensive blocks respectively. In Ichapuram and Vayalpad projects are also expected to complete their programme by 1st April 1957. During the year 1957, four multi-purpose projects were started—Araku and Hukumpeta in Visakhapatnam District, Utnoor in Adilabad and Narsampeta in Warangal District. Each of these projects will have Rs. 27 lakhs for the entire programme period of 5 years.

There are now forty community development blocks, 63 national extension service blocks and 18 post intensive blocks covering between themselves an area of 32,380.18 sq. miles and 97.77 lakhs of population spread over 9,229 villages. In addition to these 25 national extension service blocks will begin by 1st April 1957 and 21 existing national extension service blocks will

be converted into community development blocks from 2nd October 1957. It is also expected to add 32 more national extension service blocks during October 1957. When the movement covers the whole State, it will have 463 blocks of which 160 will be in Telangana and 303 in Andhra. The programme has achieved significant results by the end of December 1956, as the Government realised Rs. 240 lakhs as voluntary contribution in the shape of cash, labour and materials against the Government expenditure of Rs. 280 lakhs.

7. Irrigation and Power Schemes

Andhra Pradesh has more and relatively better irrigation facilities than many States in India. The nett irrigated area in the State in 1955-56 was about 66.8 lakh acres which constituted about 24.7 per cent of the nett area sown. The proportion of area irrigated by canals was about 46.5 per cent of the nett irrigated area in Andhra Pradesh. Tank irrigation ranks next in importance to canals and accounted for 38.4 per cent.

During the first Five-Year Plan six major irrigation projects, i.e., the Tungabhadra, Krishna regulator-cum-road-bridge, Upper Pennar, Romperu Drainage, Rallapadu second stage and Bhairavani Thippa projects were taken up for execution to benefit an area of 2,90,675 acres in the districts of Kistna, Guntur, Nellore and Anantapur. A sum of Rs. 11.14 crores was spent on these projects during the first Five-Year Plan. Besides the major irrigation projects, 17 medium projects to provide irrigation facilities to 3,79,678 acres of land were taken up for execution and four of them were completed during the First Plan period. Of the 17 medium irrigation projects, four are located in Srikanthakulam, three each in Chittoor and Nellore, two each in Cuddapah and Anantapur districts and one each in Visakhapatnam, West Godavary and Kurnool districts. Thus Rs. 14.57 crores were spent on both the major and medium irrigation projects in the Andhra region during the First Five-Year Plan. Besides, a sum of Rs. 19.95 crores has been provided for Nagarjuna Sagar Project which is common to both the regions of Andhra Pradesh. The various major and medium irrigation projects included in the Second Five-Year Plan for Andhra are expected to bring 4.49 lakh acres more under irrigation during the Second Plan period while the area ultimately expected to be benefited by these comes to 27.30 lakh acres.

For Telangana two major irrigation projects, one for providing irrigation to about one lakh acres in Mahaboobnagar District and the other, the Kadam Project, benefiting an extent of 67,000 acres in Adilabad district, were taken up for execution during the First Plan Period. A sum of Rs. 718 lakhs was spent on these projects during the First Plan period as against Rs. 270.05 lakhs provided in the Second Plan in the Telangana region where they were taken as spill-over schemes. Five medium irrigation projects, i.e., Koilsagar and Saralasagar projects, provide irrigation facilities to 60,000 acres in the Mahaboobnagar district, the Musi and Bhimalapalli projects benefiting 43,860 acres in the Nalgonda district and Sirala project benefiting 3,000 acres in Adilabad district were taken up during the First Plan period and a sum of Rs. 115.81 lakhs was spent on these schemes in the Second Plan period. The total area benefited by the major and medium irrigation projects amounts to 2,73,860 acres in Telangana.

Electric Power Schemes

Electricity besides being useful for agricultural purposes helps rapid industrialisation. During the First Plan period, the Machkhand and Tungabhadra Hydro-Electric Schemes and the Chittoor and Nellore Thermal Schemes were taken up for execution and Rs. 2,522.14 lakhs were spent on them during the First Plan period. As a result the installed capacity which amounted to 21,400 K.W. at the commencement of the First Plan increased to 62,200 K.W. by the end of the First Plan period while the number of towns and villages electrified increased from 250 to 681. The *per capita* consumption also increased from 2.5 units at the commencement of the Plan to 8 units by the end of the Plan period. During the Second Plan period the Muchkhand Hydro-Electric Scheme and the Tungabhadra Hydro-Electric Scheme are being taken up as spill-over schemes. The total outlay on the power projects in the Andhra region is Rs. 2,166.66 lakhs and the installed capacity is proposed to be increased by 1,55,000 K.W. during the Second Plan period while 934 towns and villages are to be electrified during the period.

For Telangana a sum of Rs. 615.55 lakhs is provided for the power projects included in the Second Plan. The projects are the Nizamsagar Hydro-Electric project, the Ramagundam Thermal Scheme, the Devanur Hydro-electric Project and the steam Thermal Station at Hyderabad. The Nizamsagar Hydro-

electric Station constitutes the first phase of power development on the Manjira river. It has an installed capacity of about 15,000 K.W. The Husseinsagar Thermal Power Station has an installed capacity of 24,000 K.W. with 222 sub-stations and 223 miles of transmission lines. The Ramagundam Steam Thermal Station has three 12,500 K.W. turbo-alternators installed. It is programmed to be commissioned in to commercial service in about six months with the supply extending to industries spread at a distance of 70 miles in the north and about 70 miles in the south. It is yet to be inter-connected with the Hyderabad Thermal Station.

8. Urban and Cottage Industries

The principal industries of Andhra Pradesh are sugar, paper, cement, cigarettes and textiles. Between 1952-55 (the figures for 1951 and 1955 are not available) the overall production indicated a continuous rise.

Industrial Production

Commodity	Unit	Production 1952	Production 1955	Value in lakhs of Rupees 1952	Value in lakhs of Rupees 1955
Sugar	Thousands tons	50	118	358.64	740.90
Paper	-Do-	7.4	15.2	90.92	180.95
Cement	-Do-	154	204	136.18	166.51
Cigarettes	Crores	480	446	369.31	348.86
Cotton piecegoods	Lakh yards	321	424	477.98	*
Electricity	Million K.W.	185	285	—	—

* Not available.

Combined figures for Andhra and Telangana are not available.

The overall industrial production in Telangana during 1956-57 was higher in respect of many of the major industries as compared with that of 1955-56. Paper, sugar, and electricity registered an increase of 13 per cent, 26 per cent and 6.9 per cent respectively while the output of cotton yarn, cigarettes and country spirit rose by 3 per cent over the preceding years. There was no significant change in the output of cotton piecegoods.

Industrial Production in Telangana, 1956

Commodity	Unit	1955	1956	Percentage Variation
Cotton	Thousand			
piecegoods	yards	41,520	41,522	+ 0.07
Cotton yarn	Thousand			
	pounds	13,826	14,282	+ 3.30
Sugar	Tons	49,715	62,792	+26.18
Paper	Cwts.	268,028	303,330	+13.17
Cigarettes	Lakhs	44,608	49,238	+21.48
Country spirit	Gallons	358,340	372,732	+ 4.02
Indian mfg. spirit	-Do.-	8,670	6,711	-2,260
Electricity	Thousand			
	K.W.	65,727	70,269	+ 6.91

This would show that on the whole Andhra Pradesh is industrially very backward both by the yard sticks of power supply and capital formation. The amount of electricity available per head of population is about nine units which is less than half of the All-India average which is itself very low compared to the industrially advanced countries. The paid up capital of the joint stock companies in the State is less than 2 per cent of the All-India total. Efforts are being made under the Second Five-Year Plan to step up industrial production as emphasis is laid on a balanced regional economic development. Andhra Pradesh is one of the largest consumers of chemical fertilisers and hence one of the fertiliser plants is about to be set up there. A large number of sugar factories under the private and the public sector are to be started.

Though large scale industries are not developed to any significant extent the State is important for rice and oil milling industries. There are about 448 rice mills employing each 20 or more labourers with an estimated investment of Rs. 4.3 crores towards productive capital. The average number of people employed in these mills is of the order of 11,000. As regards the vegetable oil industry the total number of factories is 238 with an estimated capital of Rs. 3 crores employing on an average 10,000 persons daily. There are units with less than 20 workers about which figures are not available.

Another important industry in Andhra Pradesh is the leather industry. Factories employing more than 20 persons are con-

centrated in Eluru, Vijayawada, Vijayanagaram, Warangal and Hyderabad city. In addition to these there are several small establishments throughout Andhra. Of the 27 factories, ten are in Andhra region. During 1954-55 a sum of Rs. 9,22,514 formed the productive capital employed in the industry. About 334 persons were engaged in these ten factories. Similar figures for Telangana are not readily available.

Cottage Industries

It is an accepted maxim that an under-developed economy where under-employment and unemployment are largely prevalent cottage and small scale industries contribute in a large measure to alleviate under-employment and unemployment and to prevent large-scale migration from rural to urban areas.

The number of workers employed in small-scale and cottage industries according to 1951 census was 11,07,368 establishments approximately. Of these 1,84,010 establishments were in Andhra and the rest in the Telangana region. Among these industries the handloom industry occupied and still occupies the pride of place with about four-lakh handlooms and 14,000 looms for woollen fabrics. On the whole the State has the largest number of handlooms and this industry provides employment to 3,23,000 and livelihood for 16,15,000 persons assuming that average production per weaver per month is about 100 yards. The annual output of handloom cloth per annum works out to 39 crore yards of cloth. In terms of the number of looms, 4 lakhs, the production may even be higher (48 crores of yards of cloth). Thus the entire output of cotton piecegoods in Andhra Pradesh is woven on handlooms.

Other cottage industries of importance are cumbly-making, where 39,000 persons are employed, coir-making employing 12,000 persons, and basket-making, where 4,000 persons are employed. Andhra Pradesh is also known for its world-famous handicrafts like the silver filigree articles of Karimnagar, the exquisite toys of Nirmal, Kondapalli, Nakkapalli and Tirupati, the carpets of Warangal and Eluru and lace goods of Naraspur in West Godavary. The State is giving financial assistance, technical aid and help through co-operative societies.

9. Mineral Production

As already seen, Andhra Pradesh is rich in minerals such as coal, iron ore, lime stone, manganese and asbestos. Now Andhra

Pradesh constitutes the principal supplier of coal to South India while it contributes nearly half the output of asbestos in India. The output and value of minerals in 1951 and 1955 is given below.

Minerals

Name of the Mineral	Output in tons 1951	Output in tons 1955	Value in lakhs of Rupees 1951	Value in lakhs of Rupees 1955
Coal	12,07,000	16,82,000	186.16	369.95
Manganese	61,000	1,01,000	84.51	156.15
Mica	66	4,150	1.62	114.54
Ironstone	17,000	6,63,000	1.21	48.81
Limestone	1,81,000	2,44,000	12.68	35.82
Asbestos	1,336	321	0.63	3.09
Barytes	7,827	4,342	2.35	0.78

There has been a rapid increase in the output of coal between 1951 and 1956 due to the implementation of schemes under the First Five-Year Plan. The output in the case of mica is phenomenal.

According to the geological survey of India, two large deposits of iron ore containing an estimated reserve of nearly 389 million tons of ore have been located in Guntur and Nellore districts. Of the total deposits, nearly 296 million tons contain 33 per cent to 37 per cent of the total iron in the rock. The remaining are of a lower grade with only 25 per cent contents. Considering the fact that nearly 2/3rds of the former Andhra State remains unexplored, the potentialities for increasing the mineral production are very great.

10. Transport

The total railway route mileage opened for traffic in Andhra Pradesh is 2,902 miles out of which 1,633 miles are broad gauge. 1,244 miles metre gauge and 25 miles narrow gauge. The total road mileage of Andhra Pradesh including national highways, State highways, major district and other district roads was 14,466 miles.

The total number of motor vehicles registered in the State during 1954-55 was 19,030 out of which 7,649 were motor cars, 5,449 lorries, 221 taxies, 2,555 motor cycles, 3,003 buses and others 163.

The Road Transport Department provided transport to a large

section of population. The road mileage covered by the Road Transport Department in Telangana had gone up from 3,502 miles in 1954-55 to 3,577 in 1955-56. The total fleet strength was also increased from 420 in 1955 to 442 in 1956. The total earnings from the Telangana area stood at nearly Rs. 1,82,33,000 in 1954-55 and were Rs. 1,79,82,000 in 1955-56, while the expenditure was estimated at Rs. 1,65,09,000 in 1954-55 and rose to Rs. 1,71,28,000 in 1955-56. The number of passengers increased from 4,48,15,888 in 1954-55 to 4,73,08,052 in 1955-56.

11. Labour

The overall labour situation was normal and the strikes were not many. The output effected and man-days lost were also few. In 1956, there were 11 strikes involving 33,362 workers and 69,069 man-days lost. Most of the strikes were of short duration and industrial output was not affected.

The general working class cost of living index in Telangana as in Hyderabad, Warangal and Nizamabad indicated a fall throughout except in 1953 and 1956 as can be seen below.

Working Class Cost of Living Index (Telangana)
Base Year 1943-44 = 100

Centre	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Hyderabad	167	164	177	167	149	178
Warangal	175	173	192	181	158	190
Nizamabad	210	180	185	181	155	192

Andhra Region
Base Year 1935-36 = 100

Vizag	371	326	381	362	334	371
Eluru	438	444	465	445	402	436

Agricultural Wages

The average agricultural wages of skilled labourers in Andhra have risen from Rs. 2-3-6 in 1955 to Rs. 2-4-8 in 1956 in the case of carpenters but remained stationary at Rs. 2-4-0 in the case of blacksmiths. The wages of cobblers declined from Rs. 1-4-6 in 1955 to 1-2-0 in 1956. Amongst the field labourers, the wages of men declined from Rs. 1-3-6 in 1955 to Rs. 1-2-0 in 1956.

Among the field labourers, the wages of men declined from Rs. 0-12-3 in 1955 to Rs. 0-11-1 in 1956. The wages of children rose from Rs. 0-8-3 to Rs. 0-9-11 in 1956.

In the category of herdsmen, the wages for males rose from Rs. 0-11-6 in 1955 to Rs. 0-13-3 in 1956 but remained stationary at Rs. 0-10-0 and Rs. 0-7-3 in the case of women. There was no change in the wages of children which was Rs. 0-8-3 in 1955 and 1956.

12. Planning and Employment

The First Year Plan of the former Andhra Pradesh provided for an outlay of Rs. 63.66 crores against which Rs. 64.66 crores were spent. As regards Telangana, the plan priorities were from the viewpoint of the composite Hyderabad State and hence its allocation was only Rs. 17.96 crores out of a total outlay of Rs. 42.65 crores for the entire State. As there is a short fall only Rs. 13.11 crores was spent. Hence, the planned outlay under the First Five-Year Plan of the two regions constitutes Rs. 81.62 crores against an expenditure of Rs. 77.72 crores estimated to have been incurred. The expenditure in Telangana during the First Plan period formed only 17 per cent of the total expenditure in the two regions now comprising the Andhra Pradesh. Thus, the First Plan could not take into consideration the special needs of Andhra Pradesh. The Second Five-Year Plan is thus more important as it attempts to initiate an organised improvement with an outlay of Rs. 174.48 crores, out of which Rs. 118.98 crores relate to Andhra and the balance of Rs. 55.50 crores is for Telangana and the distribution is as follows :

Rupees in Crores

	<i>Andhra</i>	<i>Telangana</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Agriculture and Community Development	.. 26.40	13.72	40.12
2. Irrigation and Power Projects	.. .. 54.10	12.47	76.57
3. Industries	.. .. 9.51	3.85	13.36
4. Roads	.. .. 5.47	2.19	7.66
5. Education	.. .. 7.83	5.04	12.87

6. Health including Water				
Supply	..	..	7.84	3.72
7. Housing	..	..	1.90	3.26
8. Social Welfare and				
Labour	..	..	4.48	1.05
9. Miscellaneous	..	..	1.45	0.20
			118.98	55.50
				174.48

A scheme for the manufacture of cardboard at the rate of quarter ton per day has been taken up at the paper mills at Rajahmundry. The State Government is considering a scheme for the reorganisation of the Government Ceramic Factory at Gudur in order to increase the capacity and manufacture material for electrical insulation. A Diploma Course in Radio Engineering was introduced in the Andhra Politechnique at Coca-nada. The Ceramics School at Gudur imparts training in pottery, refractories, glass and enamel work.

The glass, bangles, beads training centre at Gudur, the pottery training centre at Rajahmundry and the coir industrial centre at Baruga are run by Government as model cottage industries. In 1954-55 a sum of Rs. 1.16 lakhs was sanctioned as aid to 3 industrial concerns under the State aid to Industries Act.

During the Second Five-Year Plan, the programme of expansion of small-scale and cottage industries envisages establishment of limits for the manufacture of ceramic waste and radio components, bicycle parts, graphite crucibles, fractional horse-power motors and radio transmitters and spare parts, 16 m.r. projectors, establishment of industrial estates at Visakhapatnam and Vijaywada, schemes for organising a co-operative work centre, central institute for designs and various other schemes for the development of Bidri works, Himroo, silver filigree work, bangles, silk industry, etc.

Employment

The overall employment position in 1956 did not indicate any substantial change from that of the preceding year. In Telangana, for which figures are available registrations during 1956 were 45,584 as against 52,080 during 1955. Of these 5,674 candidates were provided for by the employment exchanges as

compared to 7,022 in 1955. Thus there was a fall both in registration and placement.

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